

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CAB 63/69 <i>Reference:-</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
	1		2		3	

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2

11th April, 1934.

My dear Andrews,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 10th April and for the kind offers of assistance that you make on behalf of the High Commissioner. Will you please convey to him my warm thanks.

If you do not mind, I should prefer not to answer the kind suggestions in your letter at the moment. One of my cousins who lives near Cape Town and who will be in England during my visit, has offered me the use of his motorcar and I expect that will suffice for any travels we make round about the Cape Peninsular. We have not yet decided whether we shall go further afield, but if we do contemplate it we should be very glad to get in touch with Mr. Chittenden.

At the moment, however, everything is rather nebulous.

Yours sincerely,

H.T. Andrews, Esq.,
South Africa House,
Trafalger Square,
F.C.2.

Signed) M. P. A. Hankov



WHITEHALL
Telephone: ~~4588~~ 4588.
Telegraphic Address:—
"OPPOSITE, ~~TRAFALGAR~~ LONDON"
LE SQUARE.

SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE,
~~TRAFALGAR~~
TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON, W. O. 2

10th April, 1934.

Dear Sir Maurice,

Many thanks for your letter of April 9th.

I had heard of your impending visit to Australia, and am most interested to know you propose dropping in on the Union en route, for a fortnight.

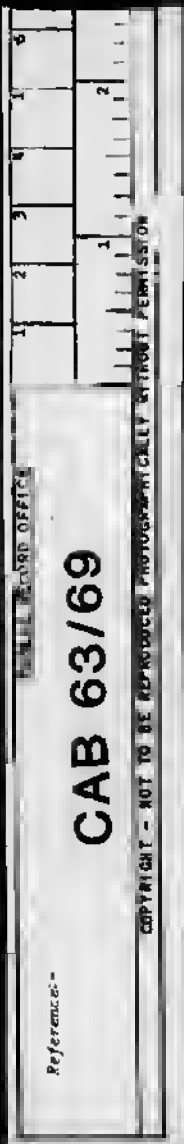
Parliament will have risen at the Cape and the Ministry will have returned to Pretoria by August, but the High Commissioner asks me to inquire if you would care for him to drop a line to the Administrator of the Cape Province (the Honourable J. H. Conradie), who we know would be happy to establish contact during your stay at the Cape.

Minister Pirow, whom you know personally, will probably be in Pretoria, but Mr. de Water would like, if you agree, to drop him a line in due course.

If you propose to do any railway travelling, may I say that Geoffrey Chittenden, our Director of Publicity in South Africa House (and an official of the Railways and Harbours Department) would be happy to be at your service in the way of facilitating your arrival at Capetown, and arranging for the comfort of your wife and yourself during any railway travelling.

Chittenden

Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
Office of the Cabinet,
2 Whitehall Gardens,
S. W. 1.



7

Chittenden will be back in London on the 23rd instant, and a chat could be arranged at your convenience.

You may, of course, much prefer to do things entirely on your own, but if you think there is any way one can be helpful, please let us know.

I have thought it better to write than telephone, as you will have plenty of time between now and August to think things over.

Yours sincerely,

H. T. Andrews

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

CAB 63/69

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1-
- PRIVATE AND
PERSONAL -

5
July 5, 1934.

My dear Stanley

In this private letter I am not going to anticipate any official instructions that may be sent to you in the near future by the Dominions Office, but I think the time has come when I should write to you on a matter which has been a good deal in our minds here and in which you and I will, I plainly see, be associated.

The Committee of Imperial Defence has this morning been considering Pirew's ideas of co-operation in the defence of the Colonies and Mandated Territory of Central and East Africa. They had before them the Report of a Committee over which I had presided and which contained a very frank exposition of the pro's and con's. The net result of the Meeting is that advantage is to be taken of my forthcoming private visit to South Africa for you and me to explore the matter a little further. As you know, it is not a particularly easy matter to handle. On the one hand, from the Imperial point of view we want to show great

cordiality at any approach for co-operation. If something, however elementary, could be arranged, it would be an admirable example to other Dominions whose help would be really valuable -- a matter I can explain better when we meet. On the other hand -- what, I know, is very present to your mind -- we have to safeguard very carefully the position of the Eastern and Central African Colonies. (I regard the Protectorates as quite out of the picture, and personally I am quite ignorant of the troubles relating to them, except in their broadest lines.)

Although I am most reluctant to do any official business in South Africa, I can see that from the point of view of the politicians there are some merits in taking advantage of my visit at the present time. To begin with, I am a person entirely without responsibility: I can commit no-one: I can only explore: and if I go too far I can even be repudiated. I have been accustomed to work in this odd kind of position for a great many years, both in international and Imperial business, and have sometimes, I think, made a useful contribution to the settlement of tiresome questions.

I have stipulated that the private nature of my visit must be maintained, and that some formula must be found to suggest that "advantage should be taken of a private visit by Sir Maurice Hankey to explore the matter a little further", or words to that effect, which will, no doubt, reach you in due course.

While recognising the delicacy of this question I am not at all unhopful that we may derive some good from it. We here really have been rather impressed by the way Pirow and the Union Government are apparently playing up and showing good intention in rehabilitating their coast defenses on the lines that we have indicated as desirable. They have, so far as I can judge, actually done more than some Dominions which are much more enthusiastic members of the Empire than the Union, for political reasons, can ever be.

I believe also that all the leading men do realize that the Royal Navy is a shield and protection of the ^{in general and S. Africa in particular} Empire. In fact, I myself have, in Official Papers, quoted with great effect your own summary of Smuts's speech in this respect. Though Hertzog is very different from Smuts, I believe that he also does appreciate the importance of the Navy to South Africa.

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If South Africa will put its coast defenses in order they will be making a real contribution to the Navy. Their air forces might also, in certain contingencies, be a very valuable aid if they were ever willing to send them.

At the moment, and subject to discussion with you, my idea would be to make as much of this aid as possible, though I realise how thoroughly it will have to be done. When it comes to forms of co-operation we here are all agreed that the most hopeful line is in the Air Force. Our own air forces are on good terms with the South African. Visits have already been made, as you know, to South Africa, and our people are in favour of such visits and exercises, which might sometimes take place in Central Africa. We shall have to make as much of that aid of it as we can, because constructively we have not much else to offer at the present stage. Outside of the air forces I do not think we can go much further than ask them what are the nature and amount of the other forces which they think they could spare. But on this aspect of the question it will be necessary to be rather less forthcoming, and, I think, to be rather frank about some of

the difficulties, for there are certain hard facts that will have to come out. For example, somehow or other it must be made quite clear that we cannot delegate our responsibility for these territories to anyone. But I think that is a point that it ought not to be difficult to put to a politician by suggesting that if the roles were reversed and we were asked to have a scheme to come to South Africa's aid we should never dream of asking them to delegate their responsibility.

Then we shall have to make quite clear that everything is at present quite quiet in Central and East Africa. We have absolutely no apprehensions of danger from the Natives. Moreover, we cannot have anything said which would make either the Settlers or Natives think that we were anxious in any way. Any scheme worked out must therefore be of a secret character, dealing with comparatively remote possibilities which might arise in a major war, as they did in the last War. As one who has to be constantly dealing with remote possibilities (which, nevertheless, have several times in my official career been realised) that does not present a very serious obstacle to me. Here, again, I think it will be necessary to talk as to

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

CAB 63/69

REFERENCE--

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the politician and, so to speak, to ask Pirox to consider the roles as reversed, supposing there were a scheme for British support to the Union in case of Native rebellion. The last thing they would want would be for a British Minister to disturb Native opinion in their territory by announcing and talking about schemes of co-operation. I do see, however, that there is a danger of damping their enthusiasm and putting them off the whole thing, and even prejudicing relations, if we stress these matters too much. We shall have to let the cat out of the bag on those sorts of points rather gradually, and lay as much stress as we can on the first two points I mentioned, namely, our welcome of co-operation and the concrete point of the air forces and the question of what other forces they would, in the extreme emergencies contemplated, provide.

I think we must avoid raising the question of the attachment of Officers from the Union to Central or East African forces. We do not want that: but if they raise the point the idea is that they should be encouraged to increase the number of Union Officers attached to units at home, where they can get much

CAB 63/69

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11

better instruction than in East Africa; and also to indicate that occasional visits by fairly senior Officers, of the rank of Major and above, to East Africa would, for purposes of examining specific questions, be arranged.

I think that we should regard these conversations as purely exploratory, in order that we may know each other's views, and that any more concrete action should be put off until Hertzog's visit next summer in connection with the 25th anniversary of the King's Accession. There is, of course, no idea that I should trench in any way upon your official responsibilities, duties and position. I am the last person who would do anything of the kind. I fancy, however, that you will be able to fix up an appropriate procedure. That is why I am writing this letter today. I should have preferred more time to think it over and to talk it over with Harline and Batterbee, but I thought it wise to catch tomorrow's bag, in order to give you as much warning as possible. I need hardly say that this particular job is unsought and undesired on my part!

Sir Herbert J. Stanley,
C.C.M.B.,
High Commissioner for the United
Kingdom in the Union of S. Africa.

Lady Stanley lunches with us tomorrow.

Yours very sincerely

J. R. A. Harker

July 5, 1934.

My dear Smith,

I had a line from Stanley the other day to say there was a possibility that I might see something of you, after all. I have anticipated my visit by a week, and my dates are as follows:-

August 27	Arrive Cape Town and spend a week at the Queen's Hotel, Sea-point.
September 4	Arrive Pretoria for a visit of a few days.
September 17	Leave Cape Town for Australia.

This programme is made out purely to suit our personal convenience. My Wife wants to see her sister before going to Pretoria. But at a pinch we could alter it, though I do not know how that would suit Stanley. It was largely on your letter that I decided to accept Stanley's invitation to stay at Pretoria and to advance my visit by a week to make this possible.

I need hardly say that we would alter our programme if it made the difference of seeing you. I should much like to talk over lots of things, and I am so piled up with work that I cannot write seriously.

13

What a wonderful speech you made in Way! I have never read anything finer than your reference to the various links, and I have more than once quoted your references to the Navy.

I must close now, as I have to dash off to one of those meetings with which you used to be so familiar in even more strenuous times.

Yours ever,

M. P. A. Banks

General
The Right Hon.
J. C. Smith,
C. B., F. R. S., N. C., M. P.,

MR. J. H. THOMAS (DOMINIONS OFFICE)

to

GENERAL J. B. M. HERTZOG (PRIME MINISTER, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA).

MY DEAR HERTZOG,

Downing Street, 16th July, 1934.

I thank you for your letter of the 25th April* on the question of the transfer of Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland, to the Union of South Africa.

May I say at once how much I appreciate so full and frank a statement of your views on this matter? I entirely agree that it is highly desirable that there should be no misunderstanding as to the true position. It is from this point of view, and in no controversial spirit, that I should like to discuss the various difficulties which you mention in your letter.

In the first place you say that, while the Union can cope successfully within its own borders with the various agricultural pests and diseases by which it is constantly afflicted, "from time to time, however, there have been recurrences of certain of these pests and diseases which have initiated not within the borders of the Union, but within the native territories here under consideration, and which, it is felt, would either not have occurred at all, or would have been successfully suppressed at an early stage if these territories had been under the administration of the Union." You cite as a typical illustration of this the recent campaign against the red locust.

I am sure that you do not intend to suggest that the invasion of parts of the Union by the red locust either originated in, or could have been prevented by these territories. As Kemp pointed out in the Union Parliament on the 29th January, the crux of the problem presented by the red locust is that it is not indigenous to South Africa but comes from Central Africa, and that its permanent breeding grounds lie somewhere north of the Zambesi instead of, as in the case of the brown locust, in relatively accessible parts of the Union and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Moreover, owing to the great distances which the migrating swarms can cross without intermediate breeding, and the enormous area infested, it is clear that Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate could not constitute barriers against the swarms formed in neighbouring territories and that no measures taken in them can protect the Union from the danger of invasion or even diminish it to an appreciable extent.

I assume then that the suggestion is not that this invasion could have been prevented by the territories, but that the existing administrative position added to the difficulty and expense of suppressing it in the Union. As to this you are, of course, aware that last December, as soon as the gravity of the situation became apparent, the Union were asked whether they would again be willing to assume the direction, as they had done in the past, of any anti-locust operations that it might be thought advisable to undertake in Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with, of course, all possible assistance from the local Administrations. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate the Union agreed to take over the direction of the campaign, which was accordingly conducted, on the same scale and lines as in the Union, by Union officers with the co-operation of the local Administration, to the whole-hearted character of which I am glad to see that the Union officer in charge paid a tribute on the conclusion of the campaign. You will also recollect that, though the Government here were advised that a campaign on this scale was neither necessary from the point of view of the interests of the Protectorate nor likely to be successful, we agreed as good neighbours to bear a share of the cost of operations which the Union considered to be necessary in their own interests. In the circumstances I think you will agree that, so far as the Bechuanaland Protectorate is concerned, the existing administrative position cannot be said to have increased the Union's difficulty of dealing with the red locust, while it has substantially reduced their expenses.

In Swaziland, unlike the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Union did not intimate any willingness to undertake responsibility for the campaign, which was accordingly carried out by the local Administration. This, however, does not affect my point, which is that, had the Union Government desired to assume the direction of operations in Swaziland in the same way as they did on this occasion in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in the past in both these Territories, the local Administration would have co-operated to the utmost of their power with the Union authorities.

In view of this I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by discussing the relative degree of success achieved by the Swaziland campaign against the red locust. I feel bound, however, to say that my information does not confirm that owing to differences between officials and territorial susceptibilities the locust was given a holiday

* No. 10991/106.

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CAB 63/69	
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there. On the contrary, I understand that, at the invitation of the local Administration, the Chief Locust Officer of the Union visited Swaziland towards the end of February to advise on the position there and that he then expressed satisfaction both at the scale of the operations and at the methods adopted. I am assured that after this visit there was no relaxation of efforts and that the local Administration, with the strenuous assistance of the white and native population, did everything that was humanly possible to cope with a pest in whose suppression they were vitally interested. It is not, of course, claimed, that the campaign was successful in extirpating all the hoppers that hatch out on uncultivated lands and mountains, an achievement which the Union authorities have themselves publicly stated, with reference to the position in the Union, to be impossible. I am, however, assured that, so far as exports and imports of this undesirable commodity are concerned, the Union balance of trade with Swaziland was what is known as a favourable one!

I propose to follow your example in not entering into detail into this question so far as it relates to the control of other agricultural pests and diseases, though I may observe that the experience of the last twenty-five years shows that the administration of these territories have not been unsuccessful in dealing with such matters. For example, I believe that I am correct in saying that east coast fever has been controlled in Swaziland as effectively as in the Transvaal; sheep scab has been adequately dealt with in Basutoland; lung sickness has been eradicated from the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the Protectorate did not originate there and was promptly and energetically met by the inoculation of some three-quarters of a million cattle in the infected area within a period of nine months. But what I am most concerned to emphasize is that, so far as I can see, there is no reason why the closest co-operation and completest uniformity of aims and methods, which the recent locust campaign has shown to be not incompatible with the present position of the territories, should not be practicable throughout this important sphere of common interests.

I now come to the second of the questions raised in your letter, namely the fugitive offenders procedure in relation to the Bechuanaland Protectorate. I was aware that certain difficulties had arisen a year or so ago in connexion with this matter, but I was under the impression that they had been adjusted to the satisfaction of the appropriate authorities in the Union, who expressed appreciation at the time of the action taken to meet them in this matter. I gathered that the Union authorities were not anxious to alter the existing arrangements for dealing with fugitive offenders so far as the Union and neighbouring territories were concerned, but that they were naturally concerned to ensure that summonses or warrants of apprehension should only be issued against inhabitants of the Union where a *prima facie* case could be established and where the available evidence was such as to afford a reasonable prospect of a conviction. I need hardly say that the last thing that we wish is that the procedure should be used in any vexatious manner and you may be assured that the Protectorate authorities are thoroughly seized of the importance of bearing the above considerations in mind. In point of fact, so far as I am aware, no further trouble has since occurred in connexion with this matter.

The third question raised in your letter relates to the entry of natives from these territories into the Union in search of employment in the mines or elsewhere. On this you write that "from 10,000 Basutos who until recently found employment in the Union, the number has increased to 35,000 owing largely to a policy of the utmost friendliness and consideration advisedly pursued by the Union up to the present as against these territories and their inhabitants, often at the cost of its own citizens." As to this, the figures of passes issued to Basutos for employment in the mining areas, to which I assume your own refer, do not seem to show any marked increase of recent years. Thus in 1926 they showed 34,500 issued for the mines, besides 60,000 issued for other forms of employment outside the territory; and that this state of affairs was even then not a recent development is shown by the fact that in 1908, 78,000 Basutos left the territory to seek work. It seems also relevant to point out that the number of natives recruited for the mines from Portuguese territories exceeds the total number of natives from the High Commission Territories employed in a similar capacity; that the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Labour Resources in the Union in 1930 (quoted in the Official Union Year Book), referring to "the chronic shortage of native labour for the gold mines", stated that except for a short period in 1924 there had not been an adequate labour supply for many years; and that the Union Government have recently decided to relax, as an experiment, the prohibition on the employment in the mines of natives from north of latitude 22° south. I agree that this phenomenon, which appears to be the result of the operation of the demand for labour in the Union on the supply available in neighbouring territories, raises serious problems from the point of view of its effects both on the internal economy of the Union and on the social structure of the territories. Here again it seems to me that the

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CAB 63/69

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solution to these problems lies in close co-operation, and the joint working out of a policy which will take into account all the complete considerations involved. But I cannot see how it would be furthered by transfer, which in itself would merely mean that under Section 18 of the schedule to the South Africa Act the Union would be debarred from imposing any discriminatory restriction whatever upon the entry of natives from the territories into the Union.

Finally there is the question of the importation of products from the territories into the Union, as to which you say that no satisfactory answer can, under existing conditions, be made to complaints by Union producers that they are suffering from the competition of producers in the territories. Surely, however, this does not take into account the advantages derived by the Union as well as by the territories from the free interchange of products provided for by the Customs Agreement. That the market of the territories is of some quite appreciable value to the Union will, I think, be conceded; and in view of the fact that the territories draw the bulk of their imports from the Union it seems to follow that any curtailment of their exports, by reducing a purchasing power which is chiefly expended in the Union, must in the end be paid for by the Union in the form of diminished purchases of Union products. I appreciate, of course, the desire of the Union to protect their markets from being flooded, particularly by cattle of inferior quality. But you will no doubt agree that under Section 17 of the schedule to the South Africa Act transfer would necessarily involve the removal of even the present restrictions on the admission of cattle from the territories. In the circumstances does not the remedy really lie on the lines recommended in the report of the Fiscal Conference between representatives of the Union and the territories at Cape Town in May, 1932, that is to say by the working out and introduction of a scheme of orderly working out and introduction of a scheme of orderly marketing and regulation of supplies?

I have endeavoured to show why, as stated in my letter of the 27th November*, I feel that the various difficulties which you have mentioned are not insuperable. In each case their solution seems to me to lie, as indeed you yourself have suggested, in the closest association and co-operation between the Union Government and the Territories' Administrations. I am convinced that it is on such lines that, in the long run, lies the solution of the larger problem, to which I now turn, that of the future of the territories in relation to the Union.

In my previous letter I said that my colleagues and I, after fully discussing the position, felt that the present was not a suitable time for raising the question of transfer with the native population of the territories with a view to the submission of the matter to Parliament here, in accordance with pledges given by successive Governments. Our attitude to the question of consultation with the inhabitants cannot be better stated than in the words of Mr. Amery's despatch of the 4th December, 1925†, of which a copy was handed to you at the time by Lord Athlone. Mr. Amery in discussing the question of the transfer of Swaziland then wrote, *inter alia*:—

" His Majesty's Government are bound by pledges which they have made to submit the Union Government's proposals to the European and native inhabitants of the territory. It will be readily appreciated that the greatest prudence would have to be observed in selecting the right moment to consult the inhabitants of the territory and in framing the proposals to be submitted to them, since if the reception accorded the proposals were such as to render it necessary to withdraw the application, it would be hardly possible to revive the question for some years to come."

Mr. Amery added:

" I think also that General Hertzog will agree, in view of his statement in the Union Parliament on the 25th March, that it will be desirable that the consultation with the inhabitants should take place before any formal steps are taken in the Union Parliament."

The reference in the last words was to your statement, in reply to a question in the Union Parliament, in which you said, *inter alia*, as regards the question of the transfer of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, that if the people of the Protectorate, natives as well as Europeans, did not desire to come into the Union, you were " not prepared to have them incorporated into the Union." As regards Swaziland you stated:—

" But in Swaziland, too, as I have said, I have taken up the position that unless the people are prepared and desire to come in I am not going to insist on their coming in."

* No. 10991/75.

† No. 50 in Dominions (South Africa) No. 1.

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The present position as we see it is this:

All our information goes to show that the result of consultation with the inhabitants of the territories with regard to transfer would, at least so far as the natives are concerned, not be likely to be such as to enable transfer, on the basis of your above declarations, and of our pledges both in Parliament and to the inhabitants of the territories, to be proceeded with. Such a situation would, it seemed and still seems to us, be embarrassing and undesirable from every point of view. It was on this ground that we arrived at the conclusion that the moment was not an opportune one for raising this question. This is still our view, but I would repeat that we should welcome the closest association and co-operation, particularly on economic matters, on the lines indicated in this letter.

As regards the last paragraph of your letter the prospects of my being able to visit South Africa in the near future are, I fear, still doubtful, but in any case we are looking forward to seeing you over here for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the King's Accession. I need hardly say that I shall be very glad to discuss the whole question further with you then.

Yours, &c.,

J. H. THOMAS.

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GENERAL J. B. M. HERTZOG (PRIME MINISTER, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA)

to

MR. J. H. THOMAS (DOMINIONS OFFICE).

Prime Minister's Office, Cape Town,

25th April, 1934.

MY DEAR THOMAS.

It was with a feeling of disappointment that I read your letter of the 27th November last* in which you state that you and your colleagues feel that the present is not a suitable time for raising the question of the transfer to the Union of the Government of Basutoland, of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and of Swaziland. I had confidently hoped for a more reassuring response.

As the matter is almost daily becoming more pressing and acute you will, I hope, forgive me if I find it necessary to place my views before you once more with complete frankness. Failure to do so, while it might contribute to the encouragement of a continuation of possibly erroneous conceptions of the true position among responsible statesmen in England, might, I fear, otherwise prove very detrimental to the interests of the Union no less than to those of the territories concerned.

It is my firm conviction, that the attitude adopted by His Majesty's Government in England with regard to this question, as appears from your letter, cannot be continued much longer without creating a very unfavourable state of feeling in this country, which is already becoming more and more insistent.

The position to-day, with respect to these territories, is very unsatisfactory, and I and my colleagues fear that, if the present position be allowed to continue much longer, the relationship between the Union and the territories and their respective inhabitants will more and more assume a less friendly aspect and give rise to feelings of hostility which may permanently affect their relationship, to the detriment of all concerned.

Quite frankly, the position of the Union with respect to these territories, whether viewed from the economic, administrative, or judicial aspect, is, for reasons *inter alia* set out below, fast becoming intolerable.

As His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are aware, while the agricultural well-being of the Union is a matter of the very gravest concern to its people, the Union is constantly afflicted by the visitation of agricultural pests and diseases which can be combated only by the unintermittent exercise of administrative alertness, energy, and skill, and at the cost of huge sums of money, sometimes amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds. Within its own borders the Union administration can cope, as it has in the past coped, successfully with these pests and diseases, such as scab, east coast fever, foot-and-mouth disease, tsetse, etc. From time to time, however, there have been recurrences of certain of these diseases and pests which have initiated not within the borders of the Union, but within the native territories here under consideration, and which, it is felt, would either not have occurred at all, or would have been successfully suppressed at an early stage if these territories had been under the administration of the Union.

The present campaign which is being waged against the invading locust swarms, affords typical illustrations of what has been experienced in the past and has to be expected by the Union and its people as long as the present position in respect to the native territories is allowed to continue. The Union administration has so far coped successfully with this very severe infestation within its own borders. But all its efforts and all the expense must practically be fruitless unless an equally determined campaign is also carried on in the infested native territories.

Unfortunately, however, this has so far not always been the case. Difference of opinion as to methods of procedure and as to other matters bearing on the problem of extermination, has to a very large extent served to increase the difficulties with which the Union has had to struggle in its attempt to destroy the invading swarms, and has been responsible for much of the loss suffered through the destruction of crops in the Union. What has taken place in Swaziland may be here cited in illustration. As late as the 16th of February last the locust situation in Swaziland was reported upon as quite satisfactory. Within 10 days after, however, the Union department of Agriculture was informed that swarms of hoppers which would reach the flying stage in 10 or 12 days, were crossing the Swaziland border into Union territory. Thereafter the position in Swaziland grew from bad to worse and eventually got out of hand with results which at one time promised disaster to sugar planters in Natal and to farmers in Eastern Transvaal. While officials differed and territorial susceptibilities had to be observed, the locust had been given a holiday!

* No. 10991/75.

It can, therefore, be foreseen that if these territories are still for any length of time to remain outside the administrative control of the Union, it will become increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for the Government of the Union to continue to extend to their inhabitants the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of citizens in the labour and other markets of the Union.

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You will, therefore, pardon me if finally I once more draw your attention to the provisions of section 151 of the South Africa Act, 1909, which clearly contemplates the step which it is now desired by me and my colleagues should be taken. The present time seems to us to be most opportune and the position as it exists at present cannot be allowed to continue much longer.

You will, I am sure, realize that it is not intended by me to cast any aspersions on the manner in which the territories are being administered. On the contrary, I have no fault whatsoever to find with their administration as such; and whatever the cause may be of the unsatisfactory state of things which here and there has given rise to comments by me, it must not be sought in the administration, but in the peculiar circumstances and conditions whereunder the administration has been, and necessarily must be, carried on.

I confidently hope, therefore, that you and your colleagues will reconsider the decision which you have communicated to me, leaving it to the Union to give such safeguards in respect of the matters which may cause concern to you as will be conducive to a satisfactory conclusion of the question.

Since writing the above I have had a conversation with Lord Clarendon who informs me that when he was in England last December you asked him to inform me, when the occasion offers, that although you have not been able to visit us this year, as was hoped, you still contemplate doing so next year when you will go into the question of the territories and their transfer. I need hardly tell you that your visit will be much welcomed and appreciated as an earnest endeavour on the part of the British Government to meet the just claim and wishes of the Union.

Yours, &c.,

J. B. M. HERTZOG.

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10991/75.

PROOF.

No.

GENERAL J. B. M. HERTZOG (PRIME MINISTER, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA)

to

MR. J. H. THOMAS (DOMINIONS OFFICE).

[Answered by No. .]

MY DEAR THOMAS,

Prime Minister's Office, Pretoria, 1st October, 1933.

I AM very glad to hear from Smuts and Havenga that during their stay in London they have had an opportunity of discussing with you the question of the transfer of the native territories—Basutoland, Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and of submitting to you a short memorandum on the subject, which might be laid before your colleagues in the Cabinet.

The cession of these territories to the Union, has, as you know, ever since 1910 been looked upon, not only as finally decided upon, but also as one the actual performance of which could be expected within a comparatively near future. Hence the Schedule to the South Africa Act making provision for the transfer of the territories and their Government by the Union.

Already for some years now, the question of transfer has been more and more engaging the attention of the people of this country, and to-day, owing more particularly to economic considerations in connexion with Union markets and questions of stock-disease, it is very generally felt that the time has come for the Union to assume responsibility in connexion with these territories and to take them over.

I hope, therefore, that you have had time to give the matter your further consideration, and that you and your colleagues may find it possible to assist in bringing the matter to an early conclusion. It would, I feel sure, be very helpful if you could come out and inquire into matters on the spot: many a difficulty would disappear when looked at in the light of South Africa, and circumstances here.

I know how busy you are: but perhaps for that reason it may be all the more necessary that you pay South Africa a visit, combining health with business.

I need hardly assure you that you and Mrs. Thomas will be very welcome. We shall take good care of you. If I may make a suggestion as to time, I would say February to June.

Yours, &c.,

J. B. M. HERTZOG.

S.A.H.C. Terr.—Op. 8. 133/2064. 24. 2/34. (17769) M. & S.

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Reference:-

10991/75.

PROOF.

No.

MR. J. H. THOMAS (DOMINIONS OFFICE)

to

GENERAL J. B. M. HERTZOG (PRIME MINISTER, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA).

MY DEAR HERTZOG, Dominions Office, Downing Street, 27th November, 1933.

I BROUGHT before the Cabinet your letter of the 1st October* about the question of the transfer to the Union of Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland, and with it the memorandum sent to me by Smuts in July last.

You will, I expect, have seen the memorandum which I handed to Smuts earlier in the month in which were set out the various considerations which we are bound to take into account in connexion with this matter—including in particular the pledges which have been given both to Parliament and to the inhabitants of the Territories. You will, I am sure, agree that in view of these pledges it would clearly not be possible for His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom even to consider the question of transfer without taking steps to ascertain the opinion of the population, both native and European, on the subject.

I now write to let you know that my colleagues and I, after fully discussing the position, feel that the present is not a suitable time for raising this question with the native population of the Territories, with a view to the submission of the matter to Parliament here, which, as you will see from the memorandum handed to Smuts, successive Governments have promised to consult before any decision as to transfer is taken.

I hope, however, that we may continue to have your friendly co-operation in dealing with the various economic and other problems with which the Territories are now faced. I feel sure that the difficulties mentioned in the memorandum which Smuts sent to me are not insuperable—I notice, for instance, that reference is made to the absence of immigration restrictions between the Territories and the Union, but I may mention that an Immigration Law for the Bechuanaland Protectorate was issued last year and a similar law is being issued in Swaziland. I am asking Stanley to consider the other points of this kind referred to in Smuts's memorandum.

I greatly appreciate your personal invitation to Mrs. Thomas and myself, and I should like to accept it if circumstances permitted, but at the moment the political and international situation is such that I fear that I cannot say with any certainty whether it will be possible for me to get away next year.

Yours, &c.,
J. H. THOMAS.

* No. 10991/75.

S.A.U.C. Terr.—Op. 8. 133/2964. 24. 2/34. (17790) M. & S.

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Reference:-

SECRET AND PERSONAL.The military defence situation of South Africa.

NOTE. In this paper the subject is dealt with in the following three sections :-

- A. Period 1920-1932, paragraphs 1 to 4.
- B. Mr. Piron's visit to U.K., 1933, paragraph 5 to 7.
- C. The present military situation, June 1934, paragraphs 8 to 12.

A. Period 1920-1932.

1. During the period 1920-1932 the efficiency of the Union Defence Forces as a whole gradually declined. Training, though carried out on British lines as far as possible, seldom if ever went higher than the unit; and the number of South African officers who attended courses of instruction in England or India was smaller than that of any other Dominion.

Political matters, such as bi-lingualism, the Flag question, and the status of South Africa in the Empire, took on an increased local importance, and it may have been for this reason that the number of South Africans of British extraction serving in the Union Defence Forces has greatly diminished. This is unfortunate, for the best fighting formation produced by the Union in the Great War was the South African Infantry Brigade (largely composed of British South Africans), which fought in France from 1916 to 1918.

2. Shortly after the Imperial Conference of 1923, the C.I.G.S. wrote to the Ce.G.S. of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa on the subject of possible mutual support in war. He pointed out that without envisaging any particular enemy or theatre of war, and without prejudicing the action of Dominion Governments in any way, it would be a most important step if Dominion Ce.G.S. would work out plans for the embarkation of the maximum contingents which they might expect to have ready in three months. The C.I.G.S. also asked if he might be informed of the results of this work.

The/

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The C.G.S. South Africa replied to the C.I.G.S.'s letter in April, 1924, saying that as none of the resolutions relating to defence which were passed at the 1923 Imperial Conference had been discussed by the Union Parliament, it was impossible to reply to the C.I.G.S.'s enquiries. In June, 1925, the C.G.S. South Africa wrote that the situation had not changed since April, 1924, and the question was then dropped.

3. The coast defences of South Africa were reviewed by the Committee of Imperial Defence in 1928 and 1929 (C.I.D. 309.C and 332.C). In 1932 the Union asked when 9.2-in. 35° mountings would be available for purchase, but did not order any at that time.

4. In 1930 continuous training of the non-permanent units in the Union was suspended for financial reasons. As a result, by the end of 1932 the non-permanent Union Defence Forces (consisting of three infantry brigades, four mounted rifle regiments, five batteries of artillery, ancillary units and certain defence rifle associations or commandos), were of considerably less military value than equivalent formations and units in the Territorial Army in this country.

B. Mr. Pirow's visit to U.K., 1933.

5. Early in 1933 certain changes took place in the Union Department of Defence. The Hon. Oswald Pirow became Minister of Defence (in addition to Minister of Railways and Harbours); Major-General Brink relinquished the appointment of C.G.S., but retained that of Secretary for Defence, and also became G.O.C. Union Defence Forces (a new appointment); and Brigadier-General Sir Pierre van Rynveld became C.G.S.

6. During the summer of 1933 Mr. Pirow and Brigadier-General Sir Pierre van Rynveld visited England, and on the 24th July attended a special meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence (see Minutes of 259th Meeting C.I.D.). At this meeting Mr. Pirow stated that, under no conditions, would South African forces be available for service outside Africa. He said, however, that speaking personally and without in any way committing his Cabinet, he thought it probable that the Union Government might be

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willing to assist in the protection of territories in other parts of Africa, as this in effect would be protecting whites against natives. He suggested that the broad problem of co-ordination between African defence forces from, say, Uganda to the Union, should be considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence. With regard to coast defences, Mr. Pirow proposed that the South African Naval Service should be taken over by the Royal Navy, so that the money thus saved could be devoted to modernising coast defence armament and providing aircraft.

From private conversations with Brigadier-General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, it was understood that Mr. Pirow's plea for co-operation in defence of the white civilisation of Africa was really a political cry to justify the retention of the Union Defence Forces. In Sir Pierre's opinion, no internal trouble could arise in the Union which could not be dealt with by police and a few aeroplanes, while the geographical position of South Africa made her safe from invasion. With regard to mutual support in an Imperial concentration, Sir Pierre considered that the Union was not politically ready to contemplate any planning or organisation for such an emergency, "but", he said, "we will co-operate all right when the time comes".

7. The questions raised by Mr. Pirow were referred to a special sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, whose report is contained in C.I.D. 389.C. Attached as an appendix to C.I.D. 389.C is a note giving the views of the General Staff on the necessity for the maintenance of Defence Forces in the Union.

Before C.I.D. 389.C was published Mr. Pirow left England for Germany, where he spent a certain amount of time in examining the organisation, training and equipment of units of the German army, as a guest of the German Government.

C. Present Military Situation, June 1934.

8. Higher Administration and Control.

The Defence Forces of the Union (naval, military and air), are controlled by one department of Defence, the Minister being assisted on questions of policy by a Council of Defence.

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Reference -

The Staff at Defence Headquarters administers the naval, military and air forces of the Union.

Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Defence, is undoubtedly ambitious and possesses a forceful personality. He is unpopular with certain sections of the Union for what may be described as his German methods and, owing to his antecedents, possible sympathies with Germany. In this connection Sir Pierre van Ryneveld volunteered the information last year that in conversation with Mr. Pirow he had said "I know your sympathies are with the Germans but I should like to know what your attitude would be to a demand for the return of South-West Africa and Tanganyika to Germany". Mr. Pirow replied emphatically to the effect that he would sacrifice every man in the Union before he would submit to the return of South-West Africa to Germany, and that he would use all his influence to prevent the return of Tanganyika. Sir Pierre concluded "I know Mr. Pirow and I am convinced that he meant what he said".

Major-General Brink, the Secretary for Defence and G.O.C. South African Defence Forces, was C.G.S. of the Union from 1920 to 1933. It is thought that the appointment of G.O.C. was created for him as a sinecure owing to his comparative seniority. Since vacating the appointment of C.G.S., he has ceased corresponding periodically with the C.I.G.S., who now receives such letters from the new C.G.S.

Brigadier-General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld is a man with singularly little military experience for the position he holds. After six months' service with the Loyal Regiment early in the war he transferred to the R.F.C. After the war he was appointed Director of Air Services in the Union, and in 1929 became Commandant of the South African Military College and O.C. Troops Roberts Height's Command. He is said to be unpopular in certain circles owing chiefly to his matrimonial difficulties of a few years ago.

It has been rumoured that relations between Mr. Pirow, General Brink and Sir Pierre van Ryneveld are not at present very satisfactory, though this statement lacks confirmation.

9. The Defence Forces.

(a) The Permanent Forces of the Union consist of Staff and Instructional Corps, three batteries of Field Artillery, Coast Defence troops, the South African/

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CAB 63/69

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African Air Force, certain administrative corps, and the Special Service Battalion; total strength approximately 2,800.

The Special Service Battalion was instituted in 1933 with the object of assisting the unemployed. Men are engaged for 1 year with the possibility of re-engagement, and are released on obtaining approved employment. Its strength is approximately 1,900.

(b) The non-permanent forces consist of the Coast Garrison Force (used to supplement coast defence garrisons) and the Active Citizen Force; total authorised strength for 1934/1935, 10,776.

(c) Towards the end of 1933 a five years programme for the re-organisation of the Defence Forces was initiated in the Union. Briefly, the programme includes modernisation of coast defences, the formation of additional units to produce a total of six non-permanent infantry brigades with ancillary units, the partial mechanisation of mobile artillery, and the formation of a small tank unit. Details of the results anticipated at the end of five years are given in Appendix I.

The Defence Vote passed this year (excluding civil aviation), totals £1,032,997, an increase of £197,472 on the vote for 1933/1934. New infantry battalions of the Active Citizen Force are being formed (it is thought from certain of the commandos, which are mainly Dutch speaking, in rural areas), and in July the C.I.G.S. heard from the C.G.S. South Africa that financial provision was being made to convert four 9.2-in. coast defence mountings to 35° type.

(d) During 1934 Active Citizen Force units are carrying out continuous training (30 days for recruits and 15 for trained men), in addition to 6 days non-continuous. As this will be the first camp training since 1930, the work this year will be limited to individual training except that batteries will fire at practice camps.

In June 1934 one Warrant and two N.C. officers of the Brigade of Guards left this country for a year's interchange duty with the Special Service Battalion. Their opposite numbers are being trained, first at the Guards' Depot at Caterham, and then with Guards' battalions. In addition, a subaltern officer R.A. commences one year's interchange with an officer of the South African Artillery in September next.

10. Comments on the Union's five years programme.

(a) The chief difficulty with which the Union is faced is lack of trained commanders and staff officers with which to organise, train and administer the Defence Forces.

Serving in the Union now are only five officers who are p.s.o., and one who attended Camberley for one year, and there is no officer who has been to the Imperial Defence College. The C.G.S. South Africa admits the difficulties arising in the Union from shortage of suitable officers, but owing to this shortage feels that he cannot spare officers for the I.D.C. or Staff College. He proposes, however, to send three officers to England in 1935 for instruction in Armoured Fighting vehicles, Coast Defences, and Signals.

While admitting the difficulties with which the Union are faced, it is thought that during the early part of their five year programme South Africa should make every effort to send officers to this country for courses and interchange duty. The Defence Forces suffer now from what can only be described as lack of experience and ignorance in high places, and this state of affairs will continue unless the permanent force officers are educated. Lack of regimental experience is also very noticeable throughout the Force, and it is suggested that this experience could best be acquired in India.

(b) Until 1934 South Africa had taken no action to implement the C.I.D. recommendations made in 1928 and 1929 with regard to her coast defences. The armament at Capetown and Simonstown is obsolete, and Durban is undefended.

Since 1929 certain changes have taken place in coast defence equipment and technique. Without full knowledge of these changes, the Union will not be able to modernise their coast defences to the best advantage. In July 1934 the C.I.G.S. wrote to C.G.S. South Africa and offered to arrange for the reception of an officer at Singapore to study the latest developments on the ground. The C.I.G.S. also hinted that he might be able to arrange for the loan of technical experts when required.

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11. Imperial Co-operation.

(a) In a speech delivered on 2nd May, 1934, Mr. Pirow said that for South Africa to contribute cash towards the cost of the British Navy, or endeavour to have a fleet of her own, might be a gesture but would be of no real value. He also said :-

"Circumstances might arise to make the route via the Cape the main highway to India and elsewhere, and then the Commonwealth as a whole would have to rely very largely indeed on our land fortifications. That was our contribution, and it was a very substantial one."

(b) Mr. Pirow has also again raised the question of Union co-operation in the defence of East African colonies, and the report of a special sub-committee which dealt with the matter was considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence in July 1934.

This question is not referred to further in this paper.

12. The Mandated Territory of South-West Africa.

The only armed forces in South-West Africa are a non-permanent Burgher Force, organised in commandos, in which all Europeans in the territory are liable to serve, and a European Police Force approximately 220 strong.

These forces are administered by the local government in the territory, and not by the Department of Defence in the Union of South Africa.

M.O.2.b.
July, 1934.

Results anticipated by Mr. Pirow for the Union
Defence Force at the end of five years.

1. Command and Staff.

A highly qualified permanent Headquarters and instructional staff, an adequate Intelligence Department, and a general organisation to mobilise all the resources of the Union in a time of extreme national emergency.

2. Air Force.

Three squadrons, one high speed bomber, one general purpose and one instructional for ab initio training; all complete with necessary reserves of men and material.

3. Mobile Artillery.

Ten batteries, one wholly and the others partly mechanised.

4. Infantry.

24 battalions of the Active Citizen Force; in peace each battalion should consist of :-

A Headquarters Company, containing three Lewis gun platoons, one anti-tank section, one anti-aircraft section and signallers.

A Support Company of three platoons of Vickers machine guns and one platoon of trench mortars.

In war the three Lewis gun platoons will each be expanded to one company, each of these companies having 8 Lewis guns. The Support Company will remain at the same establishment in peace and war.

5. A Mechanised Battalion.

This is to consist of a section of tanks, some armoured cars, possibly armoured aeroplanes and two armoured trains.

6. Coast Defences.

A combination of modernised fixed and mobile artillery, bombing planes, searchlights, anti-submarine and mining defences. In addition, the South African R.N.V.R. will supply the officers and crews for mine-sweeping trawlers and seamen gunners for armed merchantmen.

7. Cadets and Rifle Associations.

Training of boys and citizens in rifle shooting will continue to form a national reserve of trained riflemen.

8. To quote Mr. Pirow's words, in five years time the Union should have :-

"nearly 56,000 reasonably trained and disciplined men and a national reserve of 100,000 riflemen. There should be available the necessary military equipment, stores and organisation to train, arm, clothe and feed the whole of our national reserve in reasonable stages of mobilisation. We should have a staff of highly trained professional soldiers - men capable of carrying out mobilisation with the minimum of delay and capable thereafter of taking the field and directing whatever measures of offence or defence might be necessary. The ratio between men with and without military training should become more favourable every year after the first 5 years, until after 10 years more than 50% of our national reserve should be men who had had some form of military training."

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South Africa. Notes of officers who may be met.

Major-General A.J.E.Brink, D.T.D., D.S.O., with Boers in South African War and decorated D.T.D., decorated D.S.O. in war of 1914-1918, C.C.S. 1920-1933, C.O.C. Union Defence Forces (new appointment) 1933.

Brigadier-General Sir Pierre van Rynveld, K.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., commissioned Loyal Regiment 1914, R.F.C. 1915-1919, flew from London to Capetown in 1920 for which he was knighted, Director of Air Services 1920-1933 and in addition Commandant South African Military College and O.C. Troops Roberts' Heights 1929-1933, C.C.S. 1933.

Colonel G.E.Brink, D.S.O., decorated D.S.O. in war of 1914-1918, Staff College Camberley 1920, Commandant South African Military College 1932, C.C. Cape Command (Capetown) 1933.

Lt.-Colonel W.J.Klerck, O.B.E., served in war of 1914-1918, District Staff Officer 1922, C.C. Eastern Province Command (East London) 1928.

Lt.-Col. K.R. van der Spuy, M.C., served in war of 1914-1918, South African Air Force, C.C. Natal Command (Durban) 1933.

Lt.-Col. F.H.Theron, served in war of 1914-1918, Staff College Camberley 1921, Instructor South African Military College 1931, Director of Military Operations and Training 1933, O.C. Transvaal and Roberts' Heights Commands 1934.

Lt.-Col. P. de Waal, commissioned since 1918, Staff College Camberley 1929-1930, C.C. Cape Command 1932-1933, C.C. Roberts' Heights Command 1933-1934, Director of Military Operations and Training 1934.

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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

33

Civil Aviation.

Civil aviation in South Africa is under the charge of the Director of Civil Aviation under the Minister of Defence.

Policy.

The policy of the Government is to subsidise Imperial Airways Ltd., for the service to the Cape and to subsidise the South African air transport company (Union Airways) for the internal service. The aero clubs of which there are 3, do not receive any assistance in spite of the fact that a large number of their qualified members have gone to the Reserve of the Defence Air Force. Recently, Union Airways (now known as South African Airways) has been taken over by the South African Railways and Harbour Department, following the announcement by the Government that as far as internal air services are concerned, they are to be operated by the railways or in conjunction with the railways.

Expenditure on Civil Aviation.

Financial years ending 31st March:

	<u>1930.</u>	<u>1931.</u>	<u>1932.</u>	<u>1933.</u>	<u>1934.</u>
Union Airways.	£8,000	£8,000	£8,000	£8,000	£10,000
Imperial "	-	£36,000	£90,000	£114,000	£94,000
Miscellaneous.	£2,700	£3,070	£8,000	£7,649	£7,817
TOTAL -	£10,700	£47,070	£106,000	£129,649	£111,817.

SERVICES OPERATED.

Imperial Airways, Ltd.

From Cairo to Cape Town via Pietersburg, Johannesburg, Kimberley and Victoria West.

South African Airways (Pty) Ltd. (a) from Cape Town to Durban via Port Elizabeth and East London.

(b) Durban to Johannesburg.

It is reported that on the expiry of the contract with Imperial Airways Ltd., the route from Cape Town to Salisbury via Johannesburg will be operated by the South African Airways.

In addition to the above services the South West African Airways Pty operate a service between Kimberley and Windhoek for which they receive a subsidy of £7,000 annually for a period of 5 years commencing in 1931.

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Reference:-

Aircraft Personnel & etc.

	<u>Registered Civil Aircraft.</u>	<u>Commer- cial Pilots.</u>	<u>Private Pilots.</u>	<u>Ground Engineers</u>
31.12.1933	70	29	90	31
31.12.1932	60	38	62	28
31.12.1931	56	33	79	27
31.12.1930	39	26	62	29

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35

Notes on South African Air Force.

1. The South African Air Force consists of
 - (a) Permanent Air Force,
 - (b) Citizen Air Force.

According to the latest return the strengths of the Forces are as follows :-

Permanent. 26 officers 294 airmen.

Citizen. 105 " 294 "

Equipment.

2. In addition to training aircraft the Union Air Force has a strength of some 40 aircraft, many of which are obsolescent types.

The Union is now concentrating on building up 3 squadrons equipped with modern general purpose or bomber aircraft. These will be based on Capetown, Durban and Bloemfontein. Aircraft at Coast stations will be Wapiti type. At Bloemfontein a training depot will be established for training of University students as reserve pilots. Licences have been obtained to manufacture Westland and Avro aircraft in South Africa.

Landing Grounds.

3. Over 100 landing grounds have been prepared and it is understood that any point in the Union can be reached in one day. .

Co-operation with the Royal Air Force.

4. Visits by units of the Royal Air Force and the South African Air Force have taken place during the past few years.

A composite squadron of General Purpose and Bomber transport aircraft from the Middle East visited Pretoria this spring and a similar flight is contemplated to Cape Town this winter.

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It is not yet known whether any Unit of the
Union Air Force will return this visit.

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D.

S. A. Day

3)

Secret and Personal

With the Compliments of the ~~Under-~~

~~Secretary of State for Dominion~~

Sir Harry Batterbee.
Affairs.

Dominions Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.

18th July, 1934

38

Downing Street,
18 July, 1934.

SECRET AND PERSONAL.

6984/34.

My dear Stanley,

We sent you an interim reply on the 31st May (telegram No. 36) as to Mr. Pirow's suggestions for co-operation in defence in Africa.

The question was referred for consideration to an interdepartmental committee presided over by Hankey, and I enclose, for your very secret information, a copy of the Committee's report. This report recently came before the Committee of Imperial Defence who considered at the same time an invitation conveyed to Lord Londonderry through Mr. de Water to meet Mr. Pirow at Cairo in October, when Mr. Pirow would be flying to Cairo with South Africa Air Force machines. Mr. de Water added that Mr. Pirow had specially asked that Lord Londonderry might be accompanied by representatives of the Admiralty and the War Office, and had stressed the urgency of the visit owing to the increasing importance of the question of African mandated territories in European politics.

The

SIR H. STANLEY, G.C.M.G.

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The Committee of Imperial Defence approved generally the Report of the inter-departmental committee but, as regards paragraph 33 (d) of the Report, the view was expressed that it would be better at this stage not to communicate to the Union Government the draft plans for co-ordination of African defence schemes; it was thought that the best means of pursuing the question would be to take advantage of Hankey's forthcoming private visit to South Africa to explore the question further. As to Lord Londonderry's visit, the conclusion was that, in the circumstances and having regard to the possible political implications underlying Mr. Pirow's suggestions, it would be preferable to decline the invitation.

Hankey will confer with you on his arrival and give you any necessary supplementary explanations, with a view to discussion with Mr. Pirow. I understand that he is himself writing to you by this mail.

Lord Londonderry 6th July

Mr. to Water 9th July

I enclose copies of Lord Londonderry's reply to Mr. to Water and of the latter's acknowledgment. You will see that Lord Londonderry in his letter to Mr. to Water has

has referred to Hankey's visit as affording an opportunity for discussion of the question of defence co-operation.

Yours sincerely

Herbert G. J. HANKEY.

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S. A. B. 100.

41

18th July, 1934.

My dear Hankey,

I have had Stacke's
Memorandum re-typed with the disparaging
remarks in square brackets omitted, and
attach two copies.

There is now no reason
why you should not hand over a copy to
the South African Defence Minister.

Yours ever,

E. Y. Danneberg

Sir Maurice Hankey,
G.C.B.

A LESSON OF THE EAST AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

SUITABILITY OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF TROOPS FOR WARFARE
IN EAST AFRICA.

When war broke out in 1914 the local military forces were small - 3 battalions of the King's African Rifles, which, when fully mobilized and with some additional companies formed of reservists, ex-soldiers and recruits, did not total more than 3,500. During the course of operations from 1914 to 1916 troops of almost every other type in the British Empire were brought into East Africa - British troops, both Regular and "New Army", Indian Regular troops and units from the Indian States, South African troops, both of British and of Dutch extraction, Rhodesians, and various other units, including a contingent from the British West Indies.

The conditions of warfare in East Africa are unusual from two points of view - climatic and tactical. The country proved to be generally unhealthy for any unacclimatised troops; the white troops were the worst sufferers, but the Indian units were almost equally affected. Climatic conditions varied widely in different areas. The low-lying areas along the coast of the Indian Ocean were very unhealthy, but almost as insalubrious were the swampy areas along the shores of the great lakes, especially around Lake Victoria. On the other hand the inland districts, high above sea-level, were comparatively healthy; yet even here the river valleys, mostly overgrown with dense vegetation, were haunted by fever, whilst elsewhere, even in the areas of open park-land, the mosquito, the tse-tse fly and the other insect pests, together with the extremes of heat by day and of cold by night, made the

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conditions very unhealthy for any but the native of the soil.

The British officers of the King's African Rifles, especially selected beforehand, acclimatised by previous service in the country, and protected by every device that experience had taught, stood the campaign well enough; but the rank and file of the British units, unused to the conditions and in most cases unprovided at the start with mosquito-net and other preventatives, went sick in ever-increasing numbers. The first British unit to be sent, the 2/Loyal North Lancashire, was a British regular battalion from India, its war establishment (832 all ranks) being especially worked out so that only seasoned soldiers should be taken. Landing in the country in November 1914, the battalion suffered not more than 150 battle-casualties during the next fourteen months, and these were replaced by drafts; but the wastage from sickness was so serious that by the end of that period the battalion was a mere skeleton. On the 8th March 1915 a return showed that 150 were in hospital, during the ensuing rainy months (April and May) sickness rapidly increased, and on the 10th June their C.O. had to inform the Headquarters Staff "that the Battalion could not muster 350 men owing to sickness". Actually when parading for active operations on the 19th June the battalion could only muster 12 officers and 253 other ranks. In spite of some improvement, the Battalion War Diary noted on the 31st October that out of the whole battalion (including reinforcement drafts) since the beginning of the war, "836 have been admitted to hospital, and only 278 have not been admitted to hospital to date". On the 15th November the battalion could parade 13 officers and 395 other ranks, and during the dry winter months of comparative inactivity some improvement took place, so that in the action of Salaita 12th February 1916 the battalion had a fighting strength of 25 officers and 552 other ranks; but

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44

so soon as field operations began with General Smuts's offensive in March 1916 the wastage again increased. On the 13th March the unit had a fighting strength of 25 officers, 495 other ranks, another 236 being in hospital or elsewhere unfit. During the next few weeks the battalion was not heavily engaged and had few battle casualties, but the effect of operations in the field, and especially of nights in the open exposed to mosquitoes, increased the sick rate so rapidly that at the beginning of April 1916 it was decided to send the battalion away from East Africa to recover. After some delay, the unit left East Africa in May and rested for more than a month at Simonstown in South Africa. At the end of June 1916 it returned to the theatre of war with a strength of 531 all ranks; but by December, although it had seen no serious fighting, the effective strength had dwindled to 345. It was then decided to withdraw the unit altogether, and it was transferred to Egypt.

A similar story is that of the 25th Royal Fusiliers. This unit, a "Service" battalion formed from the Legion of Frontiersmen, embarked from England in April 1915 and landed at Mombasa 1,188 strong. Although sent to the most healthy area in the country, the Magadi district, its personnel began to fall sick with great rapidity and nine months later, at the time of General Smuts's offensive in March 1916 (the first operations of any great importance in which the unit took part) its field strength was only about 450. Three months of field operations, during which the actual battle casualties were not more than 50 all told, saw the strength dwindle by sickness to "less than 200" by the 7th July. The remnant continued in the field until February 1917, when the survivors were withdrawn from the line and sent to South Africa to recuperate. They returned in June 1917 as a small unit about 450 strong but again rapidly shrank until by December they had

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only 206 effective, and these were "much debilitated". At the close of 1917 the unit was finally withdrawn from the country.

The Rhodesians, more inured to African conditions, stood the climate better, but even with them the sick rate was appalling. Their battalion (the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment) landed at Mombasa in March 1915 500 strong. Three months later there were "3 officers and 108 rank and file.... in hospital and many others sick in camp". Throughout the rest of that year the proportion was much the same. Strong drafts built up the unit to a strength of 16 officers and 525 other ranks by the beginning of General Smuts's offensive in March 1916. Their casualties in action during three weeks in the field were not more than 60 all told, but by the end of that period the effective strength had shrunk by sickness to 333. After a six-weeks rest, the unit took the field again 495 strong but was again reduced to 300 by the end of May and to 125 by October of that year, of whom 53 only were doing duty; and it was noted that of these latter only 30 were really fit for duty. By the 21st December 67 only were still in the field, of whom 37 were then stated to be unfit for further duty; and in January 1917 the remnant of the battalion was then withdrawn from the line.

The summarised figures for this unit from March 1915 to January 1917 are available. The original establishment of 500 was replenished by several drafts, so that in all 1,038 of all ranks served with the unit, but the average strength in the field was not more than 300. The recorded casualties were: killed 36, wounded 84, died of wounds or disease 32, admissions to hospital 2,272. Total cases of sickness 10,626 (of which 3,127 were malaria and 921 dysentery). And this was the fittest white unit which served in East Africa.

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The South African troops collapsed ^{even} ~~much~~ more rapidly than the Rhodesians. Their units (8 battalions, 4 mounted regiments, 5 batteries) landed at Mombasa at full war strength in January - February 1916 and were engaged in the offensive which commenced on the 7th March. By May most units had lost half their numbers, and before the end of the year they were reduced to mere cadres. As an example, the 9th South African Infantry landed on the 14th February 1,135 strong. By the 20th March they had shrunk to 804, by the 1st May to 528 and by the 25th October to 116. Again, the 12th South African Infantry during three weeks active operations in April and May, lost 40.2% from sickness in three weeks.

As a result of this, it was decided in January 1917 to send all the South African units back to the Cape to recuperate. Certain of these units were brought back to East Africa in June for active operations, but again they dwindled till in six weeks they were no longer effective units. Thus the strength of the 7th South African Infantry fell from 34 officers and 676 other ranks on the 30th June to 21 officers and 286 other ranks on the 2nd August, and similarly the 8th South African Infantry declined from 34 officers and 808 other ranks on the 2nd July to 21 officers and 274 other ranks on the 6th August.

In commenting on this rapid collapse of the South African troops, the Director of Medical Services with the East African Force reported (10th August 1917) - "I think the time has now come when it should be definitely decided if European infantry regiments are of sufficiently military value to warrant their employment, as such, in this country.

"The European infantry soldier cannot cope with this climate under present active service conditions. The strain of marching with heavy equipment, constant exposure to sun and wet, general hardships of active service, quickly

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"enfeeble him and render him liable to rapid recurrent attacks
"of malarie, intestinal disorders and other diseases incidental
"to this climate.

"This appears most marked in large bodies of
"Europeans - e.g. a regiment - where the individual is
"probably not so well looked after, and is unable to
"take with him such ordinary precautions and safeguards as are
"necessary for a white man to preserve his health in a tropical
"and malarial climate I would suggest (that), from
"a military point of view it would be far more effective to
"have small bodies of Europeans serving under the best
"conditions possible rather than large bodies of men (as
"under present conditions) who fill the hospitals, embarrass
"the Administrative Services and become an encumbrance to the
"Force"; and he suggested that small bodies only of Europeans
"should be retained as "useful stiffeners to African battalions".

The B.G.G.S. at G.H.Q. endorsed this opinion stating -
"I am reluctantly compelled, by the light of nearly three
"years experience in East Africa, to agree with the D.M.S.
"the time has come when we must make up our minds to have
"comparatively few European troops in the field, and we must
"do them well".

As a result of these discussions, all the South
African troops, apart from certain small technical units,
were sent home at the end of 1917.

The Indian troops in general proved equally unsuited
to the climate, though the sick rate varied greatly between
individual units. To a great extent this was a matter of the
"class-composition" of the unit concerned, certain Indian
regiments with strong caste restrictions as to food suffering in
consequence more than other units. This particularly
affected the Rajput units and companies; and after being
stationed for some six months in Uganda the 13th Rajputs

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CAB 63/69

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became so debilitated (although not employed in any extensive field operations) that at the end of 1915 they were sent back to India. For the rest, the sick rate of units varied in accordance with the area in which they were employed and with the season of the year (rainy or dry), but on the average the Indian units never had less than 10%, and more usually about 20%, in hospital or unfit. During the active operations of 1916-17 this percentage increased until during 1917 the Indian units, like the white troops, shrank to mere skeletons. Thus, despite several reinforcement drafts, the 129th Baluchis, one of the best Indian units in the country, had been reduced to about 400 by March 1917, of whom 36% were reported unfit. By May the effective strength had fallen to 50, before new drafts built up the strength anew to over 500. By the end of November (after suffering about 100 battle-casualties) the strength had declined again to about 250, of whom many were not fit for duty.

The Indian units had suffered so much that in December 1917 a special medical commission was sent from India to report on "the general suitability of the climatic and other conditions in East Africa for the employment of Indian troops." This report was summed up by the statement that "generally speaking the climatic and other conditions are most trying to Indian troops on active service. Their constitutions suffer to such a very serious degree that this area may be regarded as unsuitable for their employment, except for short periods, and then only with considerable precautions for the preservation of health." The principal factors in the "abnormal wastage among Indian troops in East Africa" were stated to be - (1) Malaria, (2) The Jigger ("which caused an amount of inefficiency and wastage that is hardly credible"), (3) Fevers, (4) Dysentery, (5) Sun fever, and (6) Shortage of the special foods required by Indian personnel (sheep and goats being rare whilst the Sikhs and

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Hindue would not eat beef). It was noted also that transport difficulties in active operations had led to men marching heavy-laden and that this had proved too much for the Indian troops under the African sun.

At the end of 1917 it was decided to withdraw all the Indian units, and they were sent away, either to India or to other fronts.

The African troops themselves were not immune from disease; and personnel recruited in the highlands of the interior fell sick rapidly in the unhealthy low-lying districts of the coast; but in their own type of climate the African fighting troops had no undue sick rate.

It was not, however, only in resistance to disease that the African soldier proved superior to the newcomers. In tactical aptitude for the peculiar conditions of African warfare he also excelled. These conditions arose from the fact that the greater part of the countryside was covered with bush, varying from dense scrub, like Indian jungle, to open "bush" like English parkland, but in any case a sufficient obstacle to view to make the terrain, in technical language, "close country". Infantry action was generally restricted to short-range engagements, surprise was facilitated, and protection was made difficult. Short-range weapons, such as the machine gun and the mortar, became more important tactically than long-range artillery; whilst in many cases, and especially in the work of patrols, there were good opportunities for sudden rushes with the bayonet. Given these conditions, African troops, inured to the climate, trained from childhood to find their way in the bush, and temperamentally disposed to attack by a rush with the "arme blanche", could easily hold their own with all comers; whilst the effect of modern shell-fires was usually so localised in

the bush that it was not so demoralising as in open country.

Bush-warfare of this kind, in which the African troops excelled, proved very trying for all other troops, especially since the novel conditions led at times to neglect of ordinary precautions; thus in September 1915, after a minor engagement in which a detachment from a British unit (the 25th Royal Fusiliers) had been badly worsted, the G.S.O.1 at G.H.Q. wrote - "The way in which the German askaris outwit our men, time after time, and always get clear away, is a proof of wonderful bush work on their part, and, I fear, indifferent soldierly precautions on the part of our men. The K.A.R., on the other hand, hardly ever lose a rifle in any circumstances. The conclusion is the same that every thinking soldier in the Force has arrived at after a year in British East Africa, namely that only the best and most highly trained troops, British or Indian, are, or can hope to be, a match for the trained Africans of a fighting tribe in the bush country of Africa".

This tactical value of the African troops had not been realised before the war; not, at any rate, by officers inexperienced in African conditions; for when I.E.F. "B" arrived in November 1914 to attack Tanga, General Aitken refused the offer made to him of some companies of the K.A.R. as scouts and skirmishers, and afterwards for more than a year no attempt was made to increase the K.A.R. beyond their pre-war establishment. Suggestions made to this end were negatived, on the grounds apparently of difficulty in recruiting, training, equipping and officering any additional units; and on the British side the strength of the African troops remained stationary throughout 1915, whilst on the German side the local forces were increased to four times their pre-war establishment, until by the commencement of General Smuts' offensive in March 1916, a German army of some

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12,000 African troops were trained and ready to resist the attack. These German "askaris" proved formidable opponents, who increased in efficiency as the campaign went on.

In 1916, accordingly, the British policy was changed - the change is attributed to the initiative of General Smuts - and the K.A.R. were progressively expanded, until by 1918 they mustered 22 battalions. Those battalions of African troops actually finished the war, bearing the whole brunt of the fighting during 1918; for as noted above, both the white and the Indian troops had been so much enfeebled by the climatic conditions before the end of 1917 that it was then decided to withdraw them from the field.

The experience gained during that expansion of the K.A.R. from 4 to 22 battalions showed that it is not a simple matter to improvise African troops, since their training takes more time than that of white recruits and they need officers who can speak their language. During the 1918 fighting, certain K.A.R. units consisting largely of recruits with only 4 months training proved markedly inferior to the veteran "askaris" on the German side; and it was then a matter for regret that a large number of potential officers - white settlers in the African protectorates - had been thrown away as privates of local white volunteer units at the beginning of the war.

One factor in this question of expansion which was evidenced by the war was that the native African had, not unnaturally, little feeling of loyalty to any particular European nationality as such; the loyalty shown by the black soldier was a personal loyalty to the officer who led (and paid) him. For instance, at the opening of hostilities some of the best and most useful soldiers in the German services were those who had formerly been in the 2nd Battalion K.A.R., disbanded six months previously on grounds

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52

of economy. Conversely, in 1918 the new battalions of the K.A.R. included considerable numbers of ex-German askaris who had surrendered as prisoners of war and subsequently enlisted freely on our side.

A second factor in this question was that the African tribes were found to vary greatly as regards their military capacities, so that some districts were more valuable as recruiting areas than others. The Germans are stated to have differentiated carefully, recruiting their soldiers only from certain selected tribes, while other tribes found the armed and disciplined porters which formed part of the establishment of their field units; other inferior tribes were recruited only for unskilled labour.

Based on the two foregoing factors, the opinion has been expressed that it was fortunate indeed for us that the Germans did not seize the opportunity presented to them during the first two weeks of the war of invading and occupying the British protectorates. Then, in possession of our recruiting grounds and with the added prestige of success, they might have raised a really formidable army of African troops. Thus in the peculiar conditions of African warfare the security of good recruiting grounds and the denial of recruiting grounds to the enemy would seem to be strategic factors of considerable importance.

This question of the expansion of local troops in time of war had apparently been considered in the Committee of Imperial Defence as early as 1909, when certain guiding principles of policy were laid down. The fact remains that it was only bitter experience in the war which taught the lesson that for such operations in tropical conditions the recruitment of local native troops is the best, and in the long run the most economical, method of providing the force required.

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53

It must be noted that this lesson had already been taught to the British Army by the West Indian Campaigns of 1739-1814. For the earlier of those campaigns we employed British troops, who died in untold thousands from tropical fevers. Eventually they were replaced by a large force of locally-recruited black troops (the twelve West India Regiments), who achieved the final conquest of the French islands with a minimum of loss. That lesson, however, was forgotten, and in East Africa during 1914-18 it had to be learnt over again.

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BY AIR MAIL

54

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,

PRETORIA.

23rd July, 1934.

My dear Hankey,

I have been away on tour since the beginning of this month. Hence the delay in answering your letter of the 24th June, for which many thanks.

I am looking forward greatly to having you and Lady Hankey with me here from the 4th to the 8th September. I only wish you could stay a little longer.

I will arrange details of your visit to Johannesburg with John Martin when I get back from a visit to the Bechuanaland Protectorate, on which I am leaving tonight, and after I have had a talk with Pirow. He made some enquiries as to your dates, during my recent absence in Swaziland, and I gather that the Union Government have had it in mind to invite you to be their guest in Pretoria. But, in my opinion, it would be better, as avoiding any suggestion that your visit was official, if you and Lady Hankey stayed with me, and you will also be more comfortable in my house than at a local hotel.

If -

COLONEL

SIR MAURICE HANKEY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

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55

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If, however, you should think it politic or otherwise desirable to accept the Union Government's invitation (in the event of its materializing), you must not, of course, consider yourself tied by any engagement to me.

I have written to Harding by this air mail about this matter, and he will no doubt show you my letter.

With kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

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LORD PRESIDENT.

Political conditions in South Africa appear at present to be in rather an excitable state. For example, a long-arranged visit by two men-of-war to Durban was the signal for a Malanite outburst against the South African Government for arranging co-operation in defence with the United Kingdom.

Sir Herbert Stanley, the High Commissioner, has advised that before I leave England the Dominions Office should issue through Reuters, for the South African Press, an intimation that my Wife and I are visiting Australia in connection with the Victorian Centenary Celebrations: that we are taking the opportunity to travel via the Cape and to spend a short private visit in the Cape Peninsula, which is my Wife's former home: and that we shall visit Pretoria by invitation of the British High Commissioner.

I am told I ought to obtain your authority for a Press Notice to this effect. May I have it?

I should add that I have just received a very warm message from the South African Government, who are

Certainly
S.B.
4/8/34

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I should add that I have just received a very warm message from the South African Government, who are

Certainly
S.B.
4/6/34

57

putting a motor-car at my disposal while in South Africa, as well as an aeroplane, and are going to give me a Lunch at the Pretoria Club: so it does not look as if they had any objection. Further, Smuts is delaying his visit to England so as not to miss me.

m. p. a. Hankey

*I enclose an addressed envelope for reply.
m. p. a. H.*

August 3, 1934:

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58

- CONFIDENTIAL -

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59

August 2, 1934.

Dear Stanley,

In previous correspondence about my forthcoming visit I have mentioned to you that, among other people, I should very much like, if possible, to see General Hertzog.

This has now become very much more important. For your confidential information, the Cabinet have been engaged all this year in a review of Imperial Defence, and one part of the result of the inquiry, namely, Air Defence proposals, has already been announced in Parliament.

A promise was made at the Committee of Imperial Defence to the Dominions that they should be kept informed about the Inquiry, and they were actually informed, by cable and through the High Commissioners, about the Air Defence proposals.

At their last Meeting before the Parliamentary Adjournment the Cabinet instructed me to see the Prime Minister of each of the Dominions during my visit and to communicate personally how the Inquiry on Imperial Defence as a whole now stands.

60

Whereas in my former letters I was only making to see General Hertzer for personal reasons, I now have to make to him a rather important communication in connection with the above subject. I should be much obliged, therefore, if you could arrange that, if possible, I should have rather a long interview. If General Hertzer is not in Victoria I would, of course, go to his farm, or to anywhere else to see him.

I do not know whether it will be necessary for you to tell him the subject on which I am to speak to him. It has occurred to me, after hearing of the effect in the Press of the Durban Naval Visit and Conference, that possibly it would be more convenient not to mention the subject to General Hertzer unless it is necessary. But you will be the best judge of that.

I discussed with Harding whether it would be better for him to write to you about this matter, giving it rather an official complexion, or for me to write more informally, and we came to the conclusion that the latter course was the best.

All seems clear now for us to leave by the WINCHESTER CASTLE on August 16th, arriving at Cape Town on August 27th: and unless I hear to the contrary

61

we shall be leaving Cape Town for Pretoria on Monday,
September 22d, when I very much look forward to meeting
you again.

Yours sincerely

W. P. A. HANCOCK

Sir Herbert J. Stanley,
O.C.M.G.,
High Commissioner in the
Union of South Africa for
His Majesty's Government.

PRETORIA.

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62

DOMINIONS OFFICE,

DOWNING STREET, S.W. 1.

2nd August, 1934.

My dear Hankey,

The letter enclosed has just been received from Stanley, and you ought to see it at once.

I expect to be leaving London early tomorrow afternoon but, if you think that a reply to Stanley from us is needed, perhaps you would arrange with Batterbee, who will be here, what form it should take.

We could send an answer by next week's air mail which would arrive in South Africa before you.

Would you please return the letter as we have no duplicate?

Yours ever,

Colonel

Sir M. P. A. Hankey, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., G. C. V. O.

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63

BY AIR MAIL.

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
PRETORIA.

23rd July, 1934.

My dear Harding,

Lissching has shown me his letters of the 14th and 18th July to you about Maurice Hankey's proposed visit to South Africa.

I see no reason whatever for any reconsideration of his itinerary. I cannot guarantee that Malanite orators and scribes will not attempt to impute some deep-laid political design against the sovereign independence of the Union or its right of neutrality, and that "Die Burger" will not publish some silly twaddle on that theme. If so, I think the right attitude for us to adopt is that ^{of} the Duke of Wellington when he told Harriet Wilson to "publish and be damned". Deference to the suspicions and susceptibilities of the Malanites can be carried too far, and would be ascribed by them, not to generosity, but to weakness.

If the Union Government are apprehensive that Hankey's visit would cause them embarrassment, let them say so. They could very easily drop a hint in that sense to me or use the Water as a channel. But I have no ground to suppose that this is their attitude. Smuts has known all about Hankey's intentions for months, and has spoken to me about them more than once. When Hankey originally proposed to stay only at Cape Town (where in September no Ministers would be in residence) Smuts expressed himself as disappointed. When I told him later that I had persuaded Hankey to come to Pretoria, with Lady Hankey, and stay here with me for a few days, Smuts appeared to be much pleased, and said that he would endeavour to fix to time his own movements, and particularly the date of his departure for England, as to have a chance of meeting Hankey.

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Pirow also has heard of Hankey's visit, and recently, when I was on tour, he made enquiries of my Office whether they knew Hankey's dates, in order that he might invite him to come to Pretoria as a guest of the Union Government. I enclose a copy of a letter which I have written to Pirow.

I hope very much that Hankey will come as arranged and that he and Lady Hankey will stay with me here. They will be more comfortable (and less conspicuous) in my house than if they were "put up" by the Government in a local hotel. I understood Hankey to desire his visit to be unofficial, which it could hardly be if he came as a guest of the Government. His staying with me need not preclude the Government from entertaining him at luncheon or dinner should they so desire.

Perhaps you would kindly show this letter to Hankey and discuss with him whether it might not perhaps be advisable to forestall idle rumours, so far as possible, by giving to Reuter in due course an announcement for the South African Press in the sense that, accompanied by Lady Hankey, he was going to Australia on the invitation of the Government of Victoria to be present at the celebrations there, and that they proposed to break their journey at the Cape where Lady Hankey, who is a member of the South African family of de Smidt, has relatives; that they hope also to devote a few days to a private visit to Pretoria, where they will stay with Sir Herbert Stanley at High Commission House.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) H. J. STANLEY.

Sir Edward Harding, K.C.M.G., C.B.

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Reference:-

65

D.449/34.

23rd July, 1934.

My dear Mr. Pirow,

On my arrival here from visits to Durban and Swaziland, I was told by Lieaching that you had been inquiring for particulars of Sir Maurice Hankey's dates when he comes to South Africa.

He is going to Australia, on the invitation of the Government of Victoria, to take part in the forthcoming celebrations at Melbourne. Lady Hankey is accompanying him, and they have arranged to travel via the Cape and to break their journey there, in order to visit some near relatives of hers, who live at Sea Point. She was a Miss de Smidt, of the family who formerly owned Groote Schuur. They will arrive at Cape Town (by the Mail boat) on Monday, the 27th August and will stay for a week at the Queen's Hotel.

I suggested to him that it would be a pity to miss the chance of seeing Pretoria and meeting some of his friends here, and he and Lady Hankey are coming up for a few days on a private visit to me. They will leave Cape Town by the "Union Limited" on Monday the 3rd September, arriving on the evening of Tuesday, the 4th, and will return to the Cape by the fast train of Saturday, the 8th.

Sir Maurice is anxious to see a gold mine, and I will arrange that with John Martin. Otherwise he has left his programme here in my hands. I hope very much that you and Mrs. Pirow will honour me by coming to dinner at my

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house while the Hankeys are with me, and I propose also to invite the Prime Minister and a few other of your colleagues.

I am going to the Bechuanaland Protectorate tonight and shall be away until the 1st August. Perhaps you will allow me to come and see you on my return (and on your return from Lourenco Marques), so that I may be sure that any engagements which I may make for the Hankeys will not clash with anything which you may have in mind. I gathered from Lieaching that the Union Government were thinking of offering Sir Maurice some hospitality and that any such arrangements would be in your hands.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H.J. STANLEY.

The Honourable
O. Pirow, K.C., M.P.

Telegram from the High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa for His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Dated 2nd August, 1934. Received 6-22 pm 2nd August, 1934.

No. 127.

Following for Harding begins:- My letter of the 23rd July about Hankey. Please tell him I have seen Pirow who is entirely agreeable that H. should stay with me at Pretoria. Officer of Defence Department will welcome him on arrival at Capetown and Government motor-car will be placed at his disposal during his stay at the Cape. Free railway passes Capetown to Pretoria and back will be issued to him and Lady Hankey. Pirow will give luncheon for him at the Pretoria Club 5th September men only no speeches beyond a few words of welcome and possibly brief reply. Pirow will meet him at dinner at my house 5th September and will then arrange with him ^{time} for a talk. I will send car to meet the Hankeys Johannesburg 4th September. As my dining room only seats 8 there will have to be dinner party 4th September as well as 5th September. Am inviting also Hartsog, Smuts, Brink van Ryneveld and wives. Will arrange with Martin about visit to the gold mines. Defence Force aeroplane will be at Hankey's disposal if he wishes to fly over Pretoria, Rand etc. Governor-General due back from shooting in Rhodesia 1st September. Am informing him of dates as I imagine that he will wish to entertain the Hankeys at dinner 6th or 7th September. Have explained to Pirow that Hankey desires his stay at Capetown to be entirely private and is making his own arrangements for accommodation at the Queen's Hotel.

I have received Hankey's private and personal letter of the 5th July and concur generally in its contents.
Ends.

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By Air Mail.

S 68

3rd August, 1934.

My dear Stanley,

This is to acknowledge (1) your letter to me of the 23rd July; (2) by arrangement with Harding, your letter of the same date to him; and (3) your telegram to the Secretary of State No. 127, all of which reached me more or less simultaneously.

To take the telegram first, I think all the arrangements are admirable and I am most grateful to you for the trouble you have taken. I feel very bad at giving you so much trouble.

As regards the offer of an ^{offer} motorcar, I shall accept it unless I hear from you to the contrary on arrival. My cousin, Humphrey Hankey, has also offered me the use of his car and if for political reasons you think it would be wiser I am quite prepared to use Humphrey's car instead.

I see you are sending your car to meet us at Johannesburg. I expect this means that it is quicker to come on by car than by train and will ensure our being

69

in good time for dinner.

I am grateful to you for arranging that wa should stay with you instead of at an hotel. It is much more convenient from every point of view.

Coming now to your letter to Harding, I am very glad that you do not consider it necessary for me to alter my programme owing to the matters in Liesching's letters of the 14th and 18th July which have caused me some perturbation. I read into your telegram that the Union Government are of the same opinion as you. Needless to say, if anything should occur in the interval to alter your views a hint to me would suffice.

In this connection there is one matter to which I must refer. This letter will, I think, arrive before a letter I sent by the last ordinary bag in which I informed you that the Cabinet had instructed me to make a verbal report to General Hertzog. I attach a flimsy of my earlier letter so that you can see the whole story at a glance. I shall leave you to make the best arrangements you can for my interview with Hertzog who, I should think, might perhaps wish to have Smuts and possibly Pirow with him. The whole

40

thing is rather secret however and the fewer the better.

I am arranging with the Dominions Office to send through Reuters an announcement for the South African press as proposed in your letter to Harding. It is an admirable suggestion. If questioned by the South African press on arrival I had intended to take exactly that line.

Unless I hear to the contrary I shall bring to Pretoria a morning coat, a black top hat (?) and rather warm clothes as people tell me it is cold at that time of year.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) M. P. A. Hankoy

Sir Herbert Stanley,
G.C.M.G.,
High Commissioner's Office,
Pretoria,
South Africa.

71

4th August, 1934.

Dear Rawlins,

I enclose a copy of a telegram which
was sent to Sir Herbert Stanley yesterday at
Sir Maurice Hankey's request.

Yours sincerely,

B. Portman

Major F. W. Rawlins, M.B.E.

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TELEGRAM from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs
to the High Commissioner for South Africa.

(Sent 7.0 p.m., 3rd August, 1934.)

Personal.

Your telegram No. 127. Following from Harding.
Begins. Hankey thanks you for arrangements which suit
him perfectly. Please express his warm thanks to Pirow.
He is writing by air mail. Ends.

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7th August, 1934.

My dear Hankey,

I am sure that Harding would wish you to see at once the enclosed copy of a letter from Lienching.

Yours ever,

H. S. B.

Colonel

Sir Maurice Hankey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

Pretoria.

18th July, 1934.

My dear Harding,

In my letter of the 14th July about the possibility that the Malanites might make Sir Maurice Hankey's visit the occasion for exploiting their theory that South Africa is in process of being committed to an 'Imperialist' policy in matters of defence, I expressed the personal opinion that it would not matter very much if they did. On reflexion, I realise that it was not right for me to express a personal opinion on a matter of this kind without stating the considerations on which it was founded. Put as briefly as possible, they are as follows:

(1) South Africa as a whole is genuinely nervous about the international situation, and sensible enough to be genuinely frightened of what might happen to her if she had to face danger alone as the result of our failing to protect her (principally of course by sea) either (a) because we regarded her as a bad ally who was going republican eventually in any case, or (b) because she claimed the right of neutrality and declared herself neutral. South Africans know enough of the international situation to be frightened on the merits of the case. When they have Malan on one wing talking, with all his assurance, of an impending war, and Smuts on the other wing speaking publicly, as he has time and again during the last few months, of "the dangerous era into which we are moving", and when both mining and agriculture know, as they do, that if war means the loss of the United Kingdom market, they are finished, the Malanites are in a poor position to panic any noticeable section of the community into an isolationist policy.

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75

(2) Suppose that the Malanites do produce a crop of headlines to the effect that Sir M. Hankey's visit is evidence of the rightness of their contention that in defence matters a Fusion Government, with Smuts and Pirow in it, means there can be no question of Union neutrality if a war should break out - a contention which, to express once more a personal view, I believe to be correct. It may provide a temporary embarrassment for Hertzog and his supporters in their desire to rope the largest possible number of Nationalists into the new centre party; but it is not to our interests, or to the interests of Smuts' party (which are very much the same thing in the end) that by glossing over vital issues Hertzog should secure the nominal adherence to the centre party of Nationalists who, at a time when the disadvantages of neutrality are so glaringly obvious, can be swayed to a policy of neutrality by such arguments as Malan uses. Short of such an uproar, which seems hardly possible, as might endanger fusion - and Hertzog is very deeply committed now - attempts to make mischief out of Sir M. Hankey's visit do not seem to me likely to be damaging. The Government here have always shown themselves well able to hold their end up when it comes to statements and counter-statements in the Press.

I do not want to suggest that there is going to be trouble. My argument is that we should realise what might happen if Malan gets busy, and should come to the conclusion that, if it does happen, it matters little compared with the advantages.

This letter is written late in the evening, and no typist is available. I shall make a manuscript copy, of course,

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46

course, and show it to the High Commissioner on his return,
so that he can correct any errors in my attempt to
appreciate the situation.

Yours ever,

(sgd) F. LIESCHING.

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77

PARAPHRASE TELEGRAM from the Secretary of State for Dominion
Affairs to the High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa
for His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

(Sent 6.15 p.m., 8th August, 1934.)

Important.

Personal and Secret.

The following message is from Batterbee. Begins.

It having come to our knowledge that the Daily
Express proposed to publish an article this morning to the
effect that Hankey was going on a mission to coordinate the
defence plans of the Empire, it was thought desirable for
the Prime Minister's Publicity Officer to make a short
statement on the lines which you suggested in your letter
at his usual daily talk with press representatives.
of the 23rd July to Harding/ This statement was given to
Reuters. No doubt they telegraphed it to South Africa.

This morning the Daily Express has a short article
headed "Empire Tour Mystery, Cabinet Secretary to go on
Mission". In the course of the article it says "The tour
is said to be a holiday trip. But Sir Maurice will have
an opportunity to inspect the defences of the Empire - and
to discuss their strengthening".

The Daily Mail and Daily Herald also have articles
referring to proposed defence discussions, latter having
headings "Secret Defence Tour by Cabinet Chief. Sounding
Dominions on New Policy Talks on vital matters of strategy".

It was deemed advisable in view of the specific
statements in the papers above mentioned and of insistent
press enquiries this morning by Reuter and others, to inform
enquiring journalists that Hankey was also visiting New

Zealand

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Zealand and returning via Canada and that they were at liberty to use the following:

"As Sir Maurice laughingly remarked to an enquiring friend, 'I am going to Australia as the guest of the Commonwealth Government. Naturally I shall meet members of the Government and all sorts of people. I shall talk to them on anything they like to talk about, both as Secretary of the Cabinet and of the Imperial Defence Committee. If they were guests in my house I should talk on anything they liked, and as I am their guest naturally I shall do the same. I am taking no staff or bulky packages.'"

No doubt you will let me know if there are any reactions in South Africa. Ends.

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MAIL ROOM OFFICE

TELEGRAM from the High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa for H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Dated 10 August 1934. Received 3.36 p.m. 10 August 1934.

No.150. Following official statement appears in Press this morning. Begins. The Department of External Affairs has asked Reuters to correct impression given in a message from London that Sir Maurice Hankey Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence intends to meet the Government in the Union on behalf of the British Cabinet to discuss questions of Imperial policy particularly Defence.

The Department states that the Union Government knows nothing about this and that it is quite unlikely that Sir Maurice Hankey has been charged with any such mission without the Union Government being notified. Ends.

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PARAPHRASE telegram from the High Commissioner in the Union of ⁸⁰
South Africa for H.M. Government in the United Kingdom.
Dated 10th August. Received 2.20 p.m. 10th August, 1934.

10th August No. 129. Secret.

Your telegram ~~secret~~ and personal ^{of} 8th August. Visit of Sir Maurice Hankey. A message from Reuters published here contained the statements which Batterbee mentioned and extracts from the "Daily Herald" and the "Daily Mail" but not from the "Daily Express". They were published in the local papers under such headlines as "Imperial Ambassador. Mission of Highest Importance" (Pretoria News). "Defence of Empire. Confidential Mission" (Natal Advertiser). "If War comes" (Volkeblad). This morning's Rand "Daily Mail" publishes a telegram from its London correspondent saying that "great importance is attached to the visit for Sir M. Hankey himself states that as Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence and Secretary to the Cabinet he will have conversations with statesmen in South Africa, Australia, and Canada". The telegram proceeds to say that these conversations will be concerned primarily with defence problems and of necessity will be secret and then suggests that the main objectives of Imperial defence policy are the strengthening of coastal defences and provision of a strong Air Force by each Dominion.

So far no editorial comment has come to my notice but the Cape papers including Die Burger have not yet arrived here. My immediately following telegram contains the text of an official statement published this morning by the Department of External Affairs. I have just had some conversation with Pirow who did not seem greatly perturbed but said that it was of course most unfortunate that at this particular juncture such Press statements should have been made in London and cabled to South Africa.

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B.

TELEGRAM

21

From: High Commissioner for United Kingdom, Pretoria.
To: Secretary of State, London.

No. 133 : 15th August, 1934.

My telegram No. 129 Secret of 10th August.

In Malanite newspapers "Die Burger" and "Die Volkablad" editorial comment is much what one might expect. Official despatch is criticised as giving no direct denial to military significance attributed to the visit by London press and whole project is treated with usual bitterness as confirmation of Malanite view that as result of present fusion movement South Africa is in process of being committed so deeply by Smuts and Pirow that neutrality will be impossible. Among South African Party newspapers it is maintained by the "Cape Times" that it is reasonable and desirable that plans for defence of her own territories already formulated by South Africa should be co-ordinated with a general scheme of Commonwealth defence and that it is ludicrous to suggest that discussions for such a purpose could commit Union to aggressive participation in European wars. "Pretoria News" says that except for naval protection of trade routes which is being rapidly modified by development of air arm Dominions have now been left by United Kingdom to shoulder their own defence responsibilities, that Pirow's defence plans take account of this situation, that word "advise" used of Hankey's visit is unfortunate but he is presumably coming to make sure that no misconception of the new state of affairs exists. The

significance -

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significance of visit is minimised by "Die Volkstem"
 (South African Party) on ground that discussions with an
 official, however useful just now, are merely supplementary
 and secondary to periodical/^{personal} visits by Union Ministers under
 the established system of consultation and that decisions
 on major/^{or}urgent issues would obviously not have been
 entrusted to him. Despatch sent by Air Mail due to
 arrive 23rd August.

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AFRICABY AIR MAILRECEIVEDNo. 2-5

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

PORT LOUISA,

14th August, 1934.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that a greater message from London announcing the forthcoming visit of Sir Maurice Hankey to South Africa appeared in the evening papers of the 10th instant. This message, which was reproduced in all newspapers, stated that Sir Maurice Hankey would visit Australia, New Zealand and Canada, in addition to the Union, and quoted the political correspondent of the London "Daily Mail" as stating that this tour of the Empire Governments was being made on behalf of the Cabinet, and that important questions of Imperial policy, particularly defence, were likely to be discussed. The message quoted also a description of this tour from the London "Daily Herald" as "a confidential mission of the highest importance connected with the defence of the Empire". It summarised comment from that newspaper to the effect that discussions would take place on "vital matters of military, naval and aerial strategy connected with defence problems arising out of the reciprocal visits of General Byng and Lord Haldane", and that the

The Right Hon. General.

naval -

J. H. Thomas, R.F.,

etc., etc., etc.,

DOMINION OFFICE.

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- 2 -

naval requirements of the Empire, in view of the outlook for the 1935 Naval Conference, would also be reviewed. Sir M. Hankey, was reported as having said that 'he would meet members of the Commonwealth Governments and all sorts of people, with whom he would talk about anything they liked to talk about, both as Secretary to the Cabinet and to the Committee of Imperial Defence'.

2. In view of the reactions which were to be observed when rumours circulated last month in connection with the visit of Admiral Vane and Sir Lancelot Beaumont to Durban, to the effect that a secret conference was then being held on questions of Imperial Defence (see my despatch No. 224 of the 14th July), it was to be expected that the news of Sir Maurice Hankey's impending visit would attract considerable attention. These expectations have been realized.

3. The original Reuter message, to which I have already referred, appeared under a variety of headlines, some of which were colourless, while others sought to impart a special flavour to the news. Headlines in the "Natal Mercury" were: "Sir Maurice Hankey's Vital Mission"; in the "Pretoria News", 'Imperial Ambassador. Mission of Highest Importance'; in the "Cape Argus": 'Empire Tour on Behalf of British Cabinet'; in the "Natal Advertiser" and the "Rand Daily Mail": 'Defence of Empire. Confidential Mission.' Headlines in the Lusitania newspaper, "Die Volksstem" and "Die Burger" were respectively 'If War Comes', and 'British Embassy

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85'

- 3 -

coming for conversations with Union Government.
Confidential Mission. London Press does not discuss
Matters'. A later press message from London, which
appeared in the "Herald Daily Mail" this morning, quoted
a statement from the London "Daily Express" to the
effect that the establishment of an air and naval base
at Sandanba Bay would be discovered by Sir Maurice Hankey
on his present tour. Most newspapers have published
details of Sir Maurice Hankey's career, and have
emphasized the pivotal position which he holds as
Secretary to the Cabinet and also to the Committee of
Imperial Defence.

4. In the morning of the 10th August a further
press cable from London, dealing with the objects of
Sir Maurice Hankey's visit, was reproduced in all the
principal newspapers. The headline in the "Herald Daily
Mail" was "an office expert's Empire tour". "Great
importance", said one paragraph in this message, "is
attached to this visit; for Sir Maurice Hankey himself
states that as Secretary to the Committee of Imperial
Defence and Secretary to the Cabinet he will have
conversations with statesmen in South Africa, Australia
and Canada. These conversations, which will be primarily
concerned with problems of defence, will naturally be
secret, and therefore no official information is forth-
coming concerning the nature of the suggestions which Sir
Maurice Hankey, on behalf of the British Cabinet, may
make oversea". The message went on to state that,

according -

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- 4 -

according to the present trend of official opinion in London, the best way in which the Dominions could protect themselves, and at the same time contribute to the defence of the Empire as a whole, was by strengthening their coastal defences and providing strong air forces.

5. On the same morning the newspapers published an official statement issued by the Department of External Affairs, in the following terms: "The Department of External Affairs has asked Reuter to correct the impression given in a message from London that Sir Maurice Hankey, secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence, intends to visit the Government in the Union on behalf of the British Cabinet to discuss the question of Imperial policy, particularly defence. The Department states that the Union Government know nothing about this, and that it is quite unlikely that Sir Maurice Hankey has been charged with any such mission without the Union Government being notified."

6. The only other press message from London to which attention need be drawn, is one emanating from the Africopa Agency, which was published in the Johannesburg "Sunday Express" on the 12th August. As you are aware from separate correspondence, the past history and present activities of the Africopa Agency are such that it is desirable to watch the tone of its messages with special care. Africopa stated that Sir Maurice Hankey's visit was mainly concerned with preparations for the visit to be made by Dominions

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- 5 -

Prime Ministers to London next year, and suggested that he had been instructed to ascertain what measure of agreement existed in the various Dominions on certain important questions which would be discussed in London on that occasion. Imperial Defence was one of the principal questions, for the failure of the Disarmament Conference had made it necessary for Great Britain to "examine all Empire defences, and find from whence aggression might be expected, and how trade routes and naval air unity (sic) of the Empire might be preserved in case of war". After discussing the principal trade routes which would require protection, and speculating upon the rapidity with which a European conflagration could spread to other parts of the world, the speaker stated that "the British Government, through Sir Maurice Hankey, wants to know what the Dominions think on these issues, and how far the Dominions subscribe to British foreign policy".

7. A certain amount of editorial comment has now appeared, though it is noticeable that, possibly as a result of hints from the Government, there has so far been no discussion of the visit in "Die Vaderland", which is the official organ of the Nationalists, or in several of the leading South African Party newspapers, namely the Johannesburg "Star", the Bloemfontein "Friend", the "Natal Advertiser", and the "Cape Argus". "Die Burger" was first in the field with a leading article on

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- 6 -

the 9th August, and took the line which was to be expected from the principal newspaper of the 'Atlantic' faction. After quoting from a speech made in the House of Assembly by General Botha in 1921, when, shortly before the Imperial Conference of that year, he denounced co-operation with the United Kingdom in defence policy as leading inevitably to the implication of South Africa in war against her will, "die Burger" places its usual sinister interpretation upon the discussions into which General Botha, Mr. Lirow, the Chief of the General Staff and the Secretary for Defence are believed to have entered during their visit to London last year. The result, says "die Burger", has been the re-organisation of South African land defences with "unprecedented haste", in order to conform with an Imperial defence scheme concerted in London on that occasion. The article then deals with Sir Maurice Hankey's visit and with the purpose attributed to it in the press cables from London, namely the discussion of defence questions with the Union Government. "A man in Sir Maurice Hankey's position", it says, "is not going to conduct discussions on matters of the highest importance unless he is notified beforehand that his official visit is agreeable to the Governments of the members of the British Commonwealth including the Union. The fact that it would be agreeable must have been made known to him either in the form of an invitation to visit the Union, or in the form of a cordial reply to a request for a friendly reception. It is certain that the Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence would not come without such prior arrangement." In conclusion the

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- 7 -

article quotes again from General Bertze's speech in 1921, when he said: "The more we work in conjunction, the sooner will the occasion arise to fight together", and asks whether these words of wisdom are to be cast to the winds today. Mr. Pirow said at the recent Nationalist Congress at Bloemfontein (see paragraph 7 of my despatch No. 346 of the 7th August) that South Africa was bound neither directly nor indirectly to give any help, financial or military, to Great Britain, or to any part of the British Commonwealth in the case of war or on any other occasion. What need is there then, asks "Die Burger" to carry on discussions with an emissary of the British Government on the subject of Imperial defence?

8. "Die Burger" followed up this article with a clever cartoon under the title "Behind closed doors". It depicts Mr. Pirow in uniform closing the door of his room with an exaggerated gesture of secrecy, while Sir Maurice Hankey stands by him holding a document labelled "Imperial defence plans". "Welcome, Sir Maurice", says Mr. Pirow, "but first let me lock the door, for I assured my people only last week that we were not collaborating in plans for war".

9. The other Afrikaner newspaper, "Die Volksblad" (Bloemfontein), published a leading article on the 19th August headed "What is afoot?" Its general tone is similar to that adopted by "Die Burger". It casts doubt

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- 8 -

upon the veracity of the denial issued by the Department of External Affairs, and points out that in the statement that "it is unlikely that Sir Maurice Hankey has been charged with any such mission without the Union Government being notified", there is no direct denial of the military significance attributed to this visit by the London press. The official statement is merely discussing improbabilities. A short time ago nothing seemed more improbable than that the Nationalists "would allow themselves to be harnessed to a British war policy and would bind themselves to maintain the British connection"; yet this is happening today. "Die Volkzeitung" recalls the recent naval visit to Durban, when "all military significance was denied in official circles, and it was disguised as a purely friendly visit". The article then discusses the present political alignments among the European nations, and maintains that history is on the point of repeating itself in the encirclement of Germany by France, Great Britain, Belgium and Russia. South Africa, it declares, is in process of being committed in advance to participation in a European war, just as she was committed by General Smuts at the time of the Imperial Conference in 1911. "Then, as now, it rained official denials in England and South Africa. Military experts do not travel round the world on innocent pleasure trips." It is useless, says "Die Volkzeitung", to talk of Union neutrality, if discussions on defence are to take place in this manner. The nations must realize that if they allow their military authorities to carry on

secret -

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secret preparations, they will again find themselves faced with a fait accompli. In entering fusion, the Nationalist Party is surrendering the only principle whereby a people can enforce their desire for peace, namely, by giving their chosen representatives the specific injunction: "We refuse to shed blood for any other nation. We will draw the sword only if we are attacked".

3. The "Cape Times", in an article published on the 16th inst., says that it is satisfactory to observe that the defence schemes which Mr. Pirow has outlined for South Africa are in harmony with the British Government's conception of the needs of Commonwealth defence. There is nothing, says the "Cape Times", in the correlation of defence plans, or in the visit of Sir Maurice Hankey, which commits South Africa in advance to take part in any future war in which Great Britain is involved. The "Cape Times" accepts the official statement at its face value; but adds that "it would certainly be reasonable and desirable that, when Sir Maurice Hankey is here, he should have the opportunity of talks with Mr. Pirow and the Union Government on such matters of common policy and defence action as have already been indicated in Mr. Pirow's statements in Parliament. Such a procedure would be nothing more than common sense". The omission of the Dominions from the Locarno pact shows that the Dominions retain their freedom of action. Nevertheless, says the "Cape Times", it is obvious that "any of the Dominion Governments, in

making -

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5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

- 10 -

making plans for the defence of their own territories, would be acting wisely and well in co-ordinating such plans with the general scheme of Commonwealth defence". The fact that South African defence plans conform with official opinion in London is all to the good, but it is ludicrous to speak of them, or of Sir Maurice Hankey's visit, as if they committed the Union to a passive participation in European wars.

10. The "Pretoria News" discusses at some length Mr. Baldwin's recent statement in the House of Commons on the subject of the defence of the United Kingdom, and says that he made it soundly clear in his remarks on air defence that the United Kingdom Government was solely concerned with making the United Kingdom safe from air raids. The general position of Imperial Defence had been relegated to a separate category, and would have to be kept under continuous and close observation. Apart from the wider functions - functions which are being rapidly modified by the development of aviation - of the Royal Navy in protecting trade routes in the open sea, the British defence system, says the "Pretoria News", is purely national. The dominions are now thrown upon their own resources, and "even if political developments had lagged behind and sovereign status had not been acquired, the vast changes consequent upon air power would have made it imperative for us to exercise the responsibility which goes with constitutional independence... Judging by the nature of Mr. Piron's defence plans for the next five years, there is an awareness of all this on the part of our Government. So perhaps we may assume that Sir Maurice

Hankey -

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CAB 63/69

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- 11 -

Mankey is coming to the Union, not so much to 'advise' as to make sure that no misconception of the new state of affairs exists? We hope the use of that little word 'advise' by the newspapers will not result in his receiving a frigid welcome. To stand on our dignity over such trivialities strikes us as rather puerile."

11. "Die Volksstem", the Afrikaans newspaper of the South African Party, in a leading article on the 10th August, expresses the opinion that whatever may have influenced him in his decision to come to the Union, Sir Maurice Mankey's visit is "not altogether untimely", in view of the fact that defence questions are being canvassed everywhere today. "Die Volksstem" recalls the contacts established by the visits of Union Ministers to London, and continues as follows: "There is therefore sufficient contact between the two Governments to make it unnecessary for anything more than matters of the barest routine to be discussed on the part of the Union with a person who obviously wields no more authority than that with which an official speaker. And if Sir Maurice Mankey has actually given it to be understood - though we doubt it - that he will be available to give advice to any member of the Government in the Dominions which he intends to visit in any sphere in which they may desire it he does so entirely on his own responsibility and it is probable that he regards his visit more seriously than it is regarded in authoritative circles here. The Department of External Affairs has at any rate announced quickly enough/in the Union nothing whatever is known about his arrival". "Die Volksstem" thinks that the normal

contacts -

1	2	3	4	5	6
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PUB. 12/69

CAB 63/69

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94

contacts and periodic consultations may perhaps with advantage be supplemented at a time when a war-psychosis is manifesting itself so obviously in Europe; but on the other hand there is no need for alarmist views on the imminence of a war. 'If England leaves it to an official to bring about this understanding by means of a friendly visit, openly undertaken for that purpose, to all the Dominions, it seems that one may safely conclude that the danger of war and the necessity for or arising in aerial defence cannot be considered as exactly acute'. Those people in South Africa who affect to despise the protection afforded by the British Navy, are deceiving themselves and ignoring the lessons of history, if they imagine that neutrality can be maintained by the mere abstention from active participation in a war. 'But the facing of hard facts is obviously uncongenial to those naive people who labour under the delusion that the Union has only to display enmity towards Ireland and the British Empire in order to be placed on a pedestal of inviolability of the whole world'.

12. Certain press extracts showing the nature of the messages from London to which reference has been made in this despatch, and the full text of the more important leading articles which have been summarized above, are being forwarded under cover of a separate printed letter despatch.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,

High Commissioner.

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96

A COPY OF TELEGRAM

From : High Commissioner for United Kingdom, Pretoria.
To : Secretary of State, London.

No. 130 : 10th August, 1934.

Following official statement appears in Press
this morning. Re: -

The Department of External Affairs has asked Reuter to correct the impression given in a message from London that Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence, intends to meet the Government in the Union on behalf of the British Cabinet to discuss the question of Imperial policy, particularly defence.

The department states that the Union Government knows nothing about this and that it is quite unlikely that Sir Maurice Hankey has been charged with any such mission without the Union Government being notified.

Ends.

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TELEGRAM

Gb

From : High Commissioner for United Kingdom, Pretoria
To : Secretary of State, London.

No. 129 : 10th August, 1934.

SECRET

Your Secret and Personal telegram of 8th August.
Visit of Hankey. Messages from Reuters published here contained the statements mentioned by Batterbee and extracts from 'Daily Herald' and 'Daily Mail' but not from 'Daily Express'. They were published by local papers under such headlines as "Defence of Empire. Confidential Mission" (Natal Advertiser). "Imperial Ambassador. Mission of highest importance" (Pretoria News). "If War Comes" (Volkstad). This morning the "Rand Daily Mail" publishes telegram from its London correspondent saying that "great importance is attached to the visit for Sir Maurice Hankey himself states that as Secretary to Cabinet and Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence he will have conversations with Statesmen in South Africa, Australia and Canada." These conversations, telegram proceeds, will be concerned primarily with defence problems and will necessarily be secret and then suggests that Imperial defence policy main objectives are strengthening of coastal defences and provision by each Dominion of a strong air force.

As yet no editorial comment has come to my notice but Cape papers including Die Burger have not yet arrived here.

See my immediately following telegram for text of official statement by Department of External

Affairs -

6	5	4	3	2	1
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CAB 63/69					
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3

Affaire published this morning.

I have just had some conversation with Pirow. He did not seem greatly perturbed but said that it was of course most unfortunate at this particular juncture that such press statements should have been made in London and cabled here.

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98

UNIE VAN SUIDAFRIKA.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DEPARTEMENT VAN VERDEDIGING.
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE.

PRETORIA

4th September, 1934.

Dear Sir Maurice Hankey,

I have received a letter from Colonel Gordon, Capetown, asking me to forward to you a copy of our Memorandum re Training of Cadets for commissioned rank in the S.A. Permanent Force and also Form of Application for enrolment as Permanent Force Cadets.

The forms are enclosed herewith and I trust they will be of interest to you.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

H. S. W. S. W. S.

Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
14 Bryntirion,
PRETORIA.

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MEMORANDUM.

TRAINING OF CADETS FOR COMMISSIONED RANK IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERMANENT FORCE.

N.B.—ALL PREVIOUS MEMORANDA REGARDING THE ABOVE ARE HEREBY CANCELLED.

1. Commissioned Appointment in the Permanent Force.

Vacancies in the commissioned ranks of combatant units of the Permanent Force are normally filled by giving commissions to Permanent Force cadets who have successfully completed a prescribed course of training at the Military College, Roberts Heights, ^{including the S. Air Force.}

2. Permanent Force Cadet Course.

As announced in the press, such a course is ~~about~~ ^{to commence} on the 1st March 1935. Applications for cadetship are invited from members of the Civil Service, from students, and from other members of the public who possess the necessary qualifications.

3. Qualifications for Cadetship.

To be eligible for appointment as a cadet, an applicant must be:—

- A British subject—Union National—of European descent;
- Bilingual;
- Unmarried;
- Medically fit for all forms of military service;
- Over the age of 17 and under 22 on the date of the commencement of the course;
- Matriculated (or have passed an equivalent examination)—syllabus to have included mathematics;
- Not less than 5 ft. 6 inches in height; and 33½ inches in girth of chest.
- Willing to fly.

In addition he must be a good sportsman, have personality, possess the qualities of initiative, leadership, keenness and reliability.

Applicants from the Civil Service must have less than twelve months' service on the date of commencement of the course.

NOTE 1.—The following certificates only are recognised as being equivalent to matriculation:—

- The Transvaal Secondary School Certificate, Stage II.
- The Cape Departmental Senior Certificate.
- The School Leaving Certificate of the Joint Matriculation Board.
- The National Senior Certificate in Commerce, Public Service Group.

NOTE 2.—In the case of university graduates, the upper age limit ^{may be} increased by ^{two} years.

4. Applications.

Applications from members of the Civil Service should be submitted through Heads of Departments, and from students through the Principals of their respective universities or schools. All applications must be submitted on the prescribed form (attached).

Applicants are required to produce recommendations to the effect that they are considered to possess the qualities of leadership, etc., as mentioned above. These recommendations should be signed, in the case of a civil servant, by the Head of his Department; in the case of a student, by the Principal of his university or school; and in every other case, by a person of standing and authority.

All applications should be accompanied by certified true copies of birth and educational certificates.

Applicants should arrange privately for their medical examination by ^{the} District Surgeon ^{of their Area.} — Fee 10s.

The physical standard required of cadets is high, and applicants may avoid considerable expense in proceeding to Pretoria for interview by the Selection Board (see para. 5), if they are informed in time that they are not likely to pass the official medical examination. The fact that an applicant has been pronounced medically fit by District Surgeon ~~as the Assistant Director of Medical Services at Johannesburg or Bloemfontein~~ does not necessarily indicate that he will pass the official medical examination at Pretoria, since various special tests will there be applied which require apparatus not at the disposal of the medical officers mentioned above.

The results of the preliminary medical examination referred to above should be recorded by the examining medical officer on the attached forms D.D. 332 and 333, and these forms are to accompany every application submitted.

5. Selection Board and Official Medical Examination.

Candidates may be required to present themselves at their own expense for interview by a selection board sitting at Pretoria, where they will at the same time be medically examined at government expense. Those selected for interview will be notified in good time of the date, time and place and will be required to produce original birth and educational certificates.

6. Reporting and Attestation.

A candidate who is finally accepted will be attested as a cadet in the Permanent Force. A cadet from the Civil Service will be transferred to the Permanent Force, subject to the provisions of section 10 (4) of Act No. 27 of 1923. Cadets rank as privates and are subject in all respects to the provisions of the Military Discipline Code.

Successful applicants will be informed of the time and place they are required to report on joining the course. They will be provided with a second class rail warrant to Pretoria.

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Form D.D. 47.

7. Training, Pay and Uniform of Cadets.

Training will normally take place at the Military College, Roberts Heights, and at Zwartkop Air Station. Cadets will be trained in the general duties of officers and will, in addition, receive training in the specific duties of Artillery and Air Force officers. A cadet will be paid at the rate of 6s. per day, and will be provided with free quarters, fuel and light, free medical attendance, ration allowance, and a messing allowance sufficient to cover all normal messing expenses. In the case of a civil servant, pay from the candidate's department will, of course, cease from the date of transfer to the Permanent Force. A free issue of uniform as for a private will be made, but additional articles of uniform and equipment, etc., will be required to a value not exceeding £25.

Cadets will be required to deposit this sum with the Commandant, S.A. Military College, on joining the course. Any unexpended balance remaining after the conclusion of the course, will be refunded.

8. Discharge of Cadets.

A cadet may be discharged at any time during the period of the course if his conduct, service or progress is unsatisfactory, or if he is deemed unlikely to qualify.

9. Cadets who Qualify.

On completion of the course cadets who qualify will, as far as vacancies permit, be appointed in order of merit, on six month's probation, to commissions in the Permanent Force, in any arm or branch according to the exigencies of the Service.

The following provisions will apply to Cadets who qualify but who, in the event of insufficient vacancies being available, cannot be granted commissions forthwith:—

- (i) Those who have been recruited outside the Civil Service will be considered for appointments in the clerical division of that Service, provided they possess the necessary qualifications for such appointments. Those who are not eligible or do not wish to enter the Civil Service, will be discharged or they may continue to serve in the Permanent Force as mentioned in 10 (i) below.
- (ii) Those who have been recruited from the Civil Service will be re-absorbed in the Service, or retained in the Permanent Force.
- (iii) Cadets mentioned in (i) and (ii) above will be offered commissions in the Permanent Force later, if suitable vacancies occur, in the order of merit in which they qualified, provided they are still unmarried, are under the age of 30 years, and are in other respects eligible.

10. Failure to Qualify.

The following provisions will apply to cadets who fail to qualify:—

- (i) A cadet from outside the Force will be discharged from the Permanent Force, or he may continue his service in that Force in any appointment which may be vacant and for which he may be considered suitable.
- (ii) A cadet from the Civil Service will be re-absorbed in the Service.

11. Officers' Outfit Allowance.

On appointment to commissioned rank, an officer is granted an outfit allowance of £60 towards the purchase of articles of uniform and personal equipment. £30 is paid on probationary appointment (see para. 9) and £30 after confirmation of appointment.

12. Pay of Officers.

The rates of pay and allowances for junior single officers are at present as follows:—

	Pay.
2nd Lieutenant.....	16s. 0d. per day.
Lieutenant (promotion to this rank is automatic after 2 years' satisfactory service in the rank of 2nd Lieutenant).....	17s. 6d. "
" (after 2 years' service in the rank).....	20s. 0d. "
Captain.....	23s. 6d. "
" (after 3 years' service in the rank).....	26s. 0d. "

Where the following services are not provided in kind, cash allowances are paid as shown:—

Lodging—2nd Lieutenant and Lieutenant.....	2s. 0d. per day.
Captain.....	3s. 0d. "
Fuel and Light.....	0s. 6d. "
Servant.....	1s. 0d. "
Rations.....	2s. 0d. "

13. Marriage.

~~An officer of the Permanent Force is not permitted to marry until he reaches the age of 26. Junior officers upon marrying receive increased allowances and, in addition, a special marriage allowance, viz:—~~

First Lieutenant.....	3s. 0d. per day.
Captain.....	3s. 0d. "

14. Medical Attendance.

Officers, their wives and families are given free medical attendance and hospital treatment in accordance with the Regulations for the S.A. Permanent Force.

15. Pension.

Officers are required to contribute 5 per cent. of their pay towards pension funds.

NOTE.—It must be clearly understood that the particulars given in this memorandum (paras. 11-15) regarding pay, allowances and conditions of service of officers, are as at present applicable to the Permanent Force, and may be altered at any time by the Government.

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FORM OF APPLICATION FOR ENROLMENT AS A PERMANENT FORCE CADET.

TO BE COMPLETED BY APPLICANT.

WARNING.—The memorandum attached clearly sets forth the qualifications required. If you are not eligible in EVERY respect, it will be sheer waste of time to complete this form.

NAME { SURNAME.....
(in block capitals) { CHRISTIAN NAMES.....

POSTAL ADDRESS.....

DATE OF BIRTH.....

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION.....

FATHER OR GUARDIAN { NAME AND ADDRESS.....
{ PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION.....

1. I wish to submit my name for consideration as a Permanent Force Cadet, in terms of the memorandum issued by the Secretary for Defence, with the contents of which I am fully conversant.
2. I am prepared to undergo the prescribed course of training.
3. I am a British subject—Union National—of European descent.
4. I have been resident in the Union for the last.....
5. I am bilingual.
6. I am unmarried.
7. I am willing to fly.
8. I have been medically examined by a medical officer.
9. I am not less than 5 feet 6 inches in height.
10. I am prepared to meet expenditure on uniform, etc., up to an amount not exceeding £25.
11. I am prepared to proceed to Pretoria at my own expense for interview by a Selection Board.
12. I am in possession of a matriculation or equivalent certificate, namely.....
13. I am qualified in my matriculation (or equivalent) examination.....
14. I was educated at (give periods at each school or college).....
15. I have passed the following examination in the subjects indicated:-
Examination:.....
Subjects:.....
16. My complete record of occupation since leaving school or college is.....
17. I wish to submit the following additional particulars in support of my application: (Sport, additional educational and technical qualifications, previous military service, etc., should here be mentioned).....
18. I declare that the information given above is true and correct in every particular.

DATE.....

Signature of Applicant.

Signature of Parent or Guardian.

DETACH THIS APPLICATION FORM FROM THE MEMORANDUM AND POST IT, TOGETHER WITH THE FOLLOWING ANNEXURES, TO:—

THE SECRETARY FOR DEFENCE,
DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS,
PRETORIA.

ANNEXURES—

1. Certified true copy of Birth Certificate. (not Baptismal Certificate)
2. Certified true copy of Educational Certificate.
3. Medical Examination Forms D.D. 332 and 333 completed by a Medical Officer.
4. Recommendation as to character as required under paragraph 4 of the Memorandum.

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AANSOEK OM ATTESTASIE AS KADET BY DIE STAANDE MAG.

MOET DEUR APPLIKANT INGEVUL WORD.

WAARSKUWING.—In die aangehegte memorandum word die vereiste kwalifikasies duidelik uiteengeset. As u nie in ALLE opsigte bevoeg is nie, sal dit 'n versapting van tyd wees om hierdie vorm in te vul.

NAAM { FAMILIENAAM
(in blokkette) { EIGENAME

POSADRES

GEBOORTEDATUM

KERKGENOOTSKAP

VADER { NAAM EN ADRES
OF { BEROEP OF NERING

1. Ooreenkomstig die Memorandum van die Sekretaris van Verdediging waarvan ek kennis geneem het, wil ek u hierby versoek om my naam op die lys van applikante vir attestasie as Kadet by die Staande Mag te plaas.
2. Ek is bereid om die voorgeskrewe opleidingskursus deur te maak.
3. Ek is 'n blanke Unie-onderdaan van sy Majesteit.
4. Ek is vir die afgelope jaar in die Unie woonagtig.
5. Ek is tweelalg.
6. Ek is ongehuud.
7. Ek is gewillig om te vlieg.
8. Ek is deur 'n geneeskundige ondersoek.
9. Ek is nie korter as 5 voet 6 duim nie.
10. Ek is bereid om onkoste in verband met uniform, ens., tot 'n bedrag van hoogstens £25 aan te gaan.
11. Ek is bereid om op my eie koste na Pretoria te gaan vir 'n onderhoud met die Keurraad.
12. Ek is in besit van die matrikulasie- of gelykstaande sertifikaat, naamlik die
13. Ek het my bekwaam vir die matrikulasie- (of gelykstaande) sertifikaat.
14. Ek het my opleiding geniet aan (gee tydperke aan elke skool of kollege)
15. My volledige dienstetaal nadat ek die skool of kollege verlaat het, is as volg:—
16. Onderstevende addisionele besonderhede wil ek hierby tot steun van my aansoek verstrek: (Sport, addisionele opvoedkundige en tegniese kwalifikasies, vorige militêre diens, ens., moet hier opgegee word).
17. Ek verklaar dat die informasie wat hierbo verstrek is in alle besonderhede waar en korrek is.

DATUM

Handtekening van Appikant.

Handtekening van Ouer of Voog.

II (AL HIERDIE AANSOEKFORM VAN DIE MEMORANDUM AF EN TOE DIT TENAEME MET ONDERGENOMME BYLAAN AAN:—

DIE SEKRETARIS VAN VERDEDIGING,
VERDEDIGINGSHOOFKWARTIER,
PRETORIA.

BYLAAN—

1. Gewaarmerkte afskrif van geboortesertifikaat.
2. Gewaarmerkte afskrif van sertifikaat van skoolkennis.
3. Vorms vir Geneeskundige Onderzoek, D.D. 332 en 333, deur 'n geneeskundige ingevul.
4. Getuigskrifte oor karakter soos in paragraaf 4 van die Memorandum bepaal.

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7. Opleiding, Besoldiging en Uniform van Kadette.

Opleiding geskied aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Militêre Kollege, Robertshoogte, en by die Lugmagstandplaas op Swartkop. Kadette word opgelei in die algemene pligte van offisiere en ontvang bowendien onderrig in die spesifieke pligte van artillerie- en lugmagoffisiere. 'n Kadet ontvang 5s. per dag met gratis kwartiere, brandstof en lig, gratis geneeskundige behandeling, 'n rantsoentoelae, en 'n tafeltoelae wat alle normale tafelkoste dek. In die geval van 'n staatsamptenaar betaal sy departement sy ealaris natuurlik net tot op die detum waarop hy na die Staande Mag oorgeplaas word. 'n Uniform word net soos vir 'n manskap gratis uitgereik, maar addisionele uniformstukke, uitrusting, ens., tot 'n bedrag van hoogstens £25, sal nodig wees. Dit word vereis dat hy aansluiting kadette hierdie bedrag by die Kommandant van die Kollege deponeer. As daar nog van hierdie geld oorbly, na afloop van die kursus, sal dit terugbetaal word.

8. Ontslag van Kadette.

'n Kadet kan te eniger tyd tydens die duur van die kursus ontslaan word as sy gedrag, diens of vordering onbevredigend is, of as dit as onwaarskynlik beskou word dat hy hom sal bekwaam.

8. Kadette wat hul Bekwaam.

By voltooiing van die kursus, sal kadette wat hul bekwaam het, in volgorde van verdienstelikheid en aanvaanklik vir 'n proeftydperk van ses maande as offisiere by die Staande Mag aangestel word om vakatures in enige wapen of afdeling van die Mag op te vul.

Onderstaande bepalinge geld in die geval van kadette wat hul bekwaam het maar weens onvoldoende vakatures nie onmiddellik as offisiere aangestel kan word nie:—

- (i) Kadette van buite die staatsdiens sal in aanmerking geneem word vir aanstelling in die klerklike afdeling van gemelde diens, mits hulle die vereiste kwalifikasies vir sodanige betrekkinge heet. Diens wat nie 'n betrekking in die staatsdiens wil hê nie, of nie vir 'n betrekking in aanmerking kan kom nie, sal ontslaan word of hulle kan hul diens by die Staande Mag voortset soos in 10 (i) hieronder bepaal.
- (ii) Kadette uit die staatsdiens sal weer daarin of in die Staande Mag opgeneem word.
- (iii) Kadette in (i) en (ii) hierbo vermeld sal later, as geskikte vakatures ontstaan, in die volgorde van verdienstelikheid waarin hulle hul bekwaam het, vir aanstelling as offisiere by die Staande Mag in aanmerking geneem word, mits hulle nog ongetroud, jonger as 30 jaar en in ander opsigte geskik is.

10. Kadette wat hul nie Bekwaam nie.

Onderstaande bepalinge geld in die geval van kadette wat hul nie bekwaam nie:—

- (i) 'n Kadet van buite die Mag sal uit die Staande Mag ontslaan word, of hy kan sy diens by die Mag voortset in enige betrekking wat vakant mag wees en waarvoor hy as geskik beskou word.
- (ii) 'n Kadet uit die staatsdiens sal weer daarin opgeneem word.

11. Uitrustingstoelae vir Offisiere.

Aan 'n offisier word hy sy aanstelling in die heedanigheid 'n uitrustingstoelae van £60 toegeken vir die aankoop van uniformstukke en persoonlike uitrusting. By sy aanstelling op proef (kyk para. 9) word £70 aan hom betaal, en £30 na bekrigting van sy aanstelling.

12. Besoldiging van Offisiere.

Die tarief van soldy en toelae in die geval van ongetroude junior offisiere is lense as volg:—

	Soldy.
2de Luitenant.....	15s. 0d. per dag.
Luitenant (bevoordering tot hierdie rang geskied outomaties na bevredigende diens as 2de luitenant vir 'n tydperk van 2 jaar).....	17s. 6d. "
" (na 'n dienstyd van 2 jaar as luitenant).....	20s. 0d. "
Kaptein.....	23s. 6d. "
" (na 'n dienstyd van 3 jaar as kaptein).....	26s. 0d. "

As ondergenoemde geriewe nie as sodanig verskaf word nie, word geldtoelae in plaas daarvan betaal, soos aangeel:—

Huisvesting—2de luitenant en luitenant.....	2s. 0d. per dag.
Kaptein.....	3s. 0d. per dag.
Brandstof en lig.....	0s. 6d. "
Bediensetoelae.....	1s. 0d. "
Rantsoentoelae.....	2s. 0d. "

13. Kowelik.

'n Offisier by die Staande Mag word nie toegelaat om te trou voordat hy 28 jaar oud is nie.

Wanneer junior offisiere trou ontvang hulle groter toelae en boonop nog 'n spesiale toelae vir getroudes soos hieronder aangeel:—

Luitnants.....	3s. 0d. per dag.
Kapteins.....	2s. 0d. "

14. Geneeskundige Behandeling.

Ooreenkomstig die Regulasies van die S.A. Staande Mag word geneeskundige en hospitaalbehandeling gratis aan offisiere met hul vrouens en gesinne, verskaf.

15. Pensioen.

Offisiere moet 5 persent van hul soldy tot die pensioenfonds bydra.

OPMERKING.—Dit moet duidelik verstaan word dat die besonderhede in hierdie Memorandum (para. 11-15) aangaande soldy, toelae en diensvoorwaardes van offisiere van die Staande Mag te eniger tyd deur die goewerment verander kan word.

MEMORANDUM.

OPLEIDING VAN KADETTE AS OFFISIERS BY DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE STAANDE MAG.

LET WEL.—ALLE VORIGE MEMORANDA IN HIERDIE VERBAND WORD HIERMEE INGETREK.

1. Aanstelling met Offisiërsrang by die Staande Mag.

Vakatures vir offisiere by vegeenhede van die Staande Mag word gewoonlik opgevol deur kadette van die Staande Mag wat die voorgeskrewe opleidingskursus aan die Militêre Kollege, Robertsheegte, met sukses deurgemaak het, met die rang van offisier in die betrekkinge aan te stel.

2. Kadetkursus van die Staande Mag.

Soos in die pers bekendgemaak, sal so'n kursus binnekort aanvang neem en applikasies om as kadet opgelei te word, word ingewag van staatsamptenare, studente en ander persone wat die vereiste kwalifikasies besit.

3. Kwalifikasies vir Kadette.

Om vir aanstelling as kadet in aanmerking te kom, moet 'n applikant

- (a) 'n blanke Onle-ouderduan van sy Majesteit;
- (b) tweetalig;
- (c) ongehuwelik;
- (d) vir alle soorte militêre werk geneeskundig geskik, en
- (e) op die aanvangsdatum van die kursus ouer as 17 en jonger as 22 jaar wees;
- (f) in die Matrikulasië- of 'n gelykstaande eksamen, met wiskunde as vereiste, geslaag het;
- (g) minstens 5 vt. 6 dm. lank wees; en
- (h) gewillig wees om te vlieg.

Bovendien moet hy 'n goeie sportman wees, persoonlikheid en ondernemingsgees besit, ywerig en betroubaar wees, en oor die hoedanighede van leierskap beskik.

Staatsamptenare wat aansoek doen, moet op die aanvangsdatum van die kursus minder as twaalf maande in die Staatsdiens wees.

OPMERKING 1.—Net die volgende sertifikate word aangeneem as gelykstaande aan die Matrikulasiesertifikaat:—

- (1) Die Transvaalse Middelbare Skooldersertifikaat, Trap II.
- (2) Die Kaapse Departementale Senior Sertifikaat.
- (3) Die Skoolleidendersertifikaat van die Gesamentlike Matrikulasierand.
- (4) Die Nasionale Senior Sertifikaat in Handel, Staatsdiens groep.

OPMERKING 2.—In die geval van persone met universiteitsgrade word die hoogste onderdomsgrens met een jaar verhoog.

4. Applikasies.

Applikasies van staatsamptenare moet lank wees van departementshoofde, en van studente lank wees van die principals van hul onderskeie universiteite of skole ingesluit word. Applikasies moet op die voorgeskrewe vorm wat hierby aangeheg is, ingestuur word.

Applikante moet getuigskrifte indien waaruit blyk dat hulle beskou word as persone wat die hoedanighede van leierskap, ens., hierbo genoem, besit. Hierdie getuigskrifte moet in die geval van 'n staatsamptenaar verkry word van sy departementshoofd, in die geval van 'n student, van die hoof van sy universiteit of skool, en in alle ander gevalle van 'n gesaghebbende persoon van aansien.

Alle applikasies moet vergesel wees van gewaarmerkte afskrifte van geboortesertifikate en sertifikate van skoolkennis.

Applikante moet self reëlings tref vir geneeskundige ondersoek deur 'n distrikgeneesheer of die Assistent-direkteur van die Geneeskundige Diens op Johannesburg of Bloemfontein—die fees is 10s.

'n Hoë standaard van liggaamlike geskiktheid word in die geval van kadette vereis, en dit sal applikante heelwat onkoste bespaar in verband met die heenreis na Pretoria om voor die Keurraad (kyk para. 5) te verskyn, as hulle betyds in kennis gestel word dat hulle waarskynlik nie by die offisiële geneeskundige ondersoek goedgekeur sal word nie. As 'n applikant deur 'n distrikgeneesheer of die Assistent-direkteur van die Geneeskundige Diens op Johannesburg of Bloemfontein as geneeskundig geskik verklaar word, beteken dit nog nie dat hy by die offisiële geneeskundige ondersoek op Pretoria goedgekeur sal word nie, aangesien op laasgenoemde plek verskeie spesiale toetse uitgevoer sal word waarvoor apparaat vereis word wat nie ter beskikking van bogenoemde geneeskundiges is nie.

Die nitelag van die voorlopige geneeskundige ondersoek, hierbo vermeld, moet deur die geneeskundige wat die ondersoek uitvoer op die vorms D.D. 332 en 333 wat hierby aangeheg is, ingevul word, en hierdie vorme moet met elke applikante saamgestuur word.

5. Die Keurraad en Offisiële Geneeskundige Onderzoek.

Dit mag van kandidate vereis word om op die koste voor 'n keurraad op Pretoria vir 'n onderhoud te verskyn. Hulle sal dan terselfdertyd op staatskoste geneeskundig ondersoek word. Kandidate wat vir 'n onderhoud uitgekies word, sal betyds van die datum, tyd en plek van die onderhoud verwittig word en hulle sal dan originele geboortesertifikate en sertifikate van skoolkennis moet verskaf.

6. Aanmelding en Attestasie.

'n Kandidaat wat uiteindelik goedgekeur word, sal as kadet by die Staande Mag geïntelleer word. 'n Kadet uit die staatsdiens sal ooreenkomstig die bepalings van artikel 10 (4) van Wet No. 27 van 1923 na die Staande Mag oorgeplaas word. Die rang van kadet staan gelyk aan die van manskap en kadette is in alle opsigte onderworpe aan die Reglement van Krygstug.

Suksesvolle applikante sal in kennis gestel word waar en wanneer hulle hul moet aanmeld om by die kursus aan te sluit. Hulle sal voorsien word van 'n order vir 'n tweedeklas-spoorwegkaartjie na Pretoria.

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102

South Africa.

Notes by Naval Staff.

The South African Naval Service as previously constituted ceased to exist on the 31st March 1933. The Surveying Ship PROTEA has been sold and the two Trawlers have been returned to the home Government.

2. In future the South African Naval Service will consist of R.N.V.R. ratings who will receive training in H.M. Ships on the African Station. They will come directly under the Commander-in-Chief and the Staff Officer from the R.N. will be appointed.

3. The Union Government have accepted in principle the responsibility for

- (a) Maintaining the R.N.V.R. at approximately the present strength and providing certain training appliances.
- (b) Providing the balance of ~~new~~ material required for local Naval defence on a definite plan.
- (c) Maintaining the nets and boom at Simonstown where a R.N. Dockyard exists.
- (d) Maintaining the Port War Signal Stations and War Signal Stations in South Africa.
- (e) Providing a Contraband Control Guard Ship and materiel.

4. Arrangements for Minesweeping operations in an emergency include the use of local trawlers.

5. Two R.N. cruisers and 4 R.N. sloops are stationed on the Africa Station.

Plans Division

2/4/34

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CAB 63/69

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106

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
Pretoria.

7th September, 1964.

Dear Burgis,

I enclose the following :

(1) A most secret letter to the Prime Minister about my conversations with Vertzog and Tants. Please have this copied and send copies to Mr. Baldwin, Sir Edward Harding for Mr. Thomas, Sir John Simon - and to others if Howorth and Hodsoll think it necessary, but perhaps the Prime Minister ought to decide;

(2) A Confidential letter of a more personal character to the Prime Minister;

(3) A letter to Mr. Baldwin to which I have attached a copy of No. (2).

I have no time for more and hardly know whether I am standing on my head or my heels.

I -

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I shall be shipping out some more stuff before
I leave Cape Town or otherwise from Fremantle.

I hope all goes well with you and all
the Office.

Yours ever,

m.p.a. Hankey

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Most Secret.

108

7th September.1934.

Dear Prime Minister,

Yesterday morning I saw General Hertzog in order to carry out the Cabinet's instruction to communicate to him the present position of the long inquiry into our defensive position.

2. From the first I had realised that in South Africa in particular this was rather a delicate business. It would be necessary to get the emphasis exactly right in order to avoid arousing any suspicion that we were embarking on a race for armaments or some adventure that must end in a new commitment on the continent of Europe. My task was not rendered any easier by the clutter in the English press, which was repeated here, as to the ambitious nature of my supposed "mission". The Malanite press, in particular, have used my visit as a missile in their attacks on General Hertzog and General Smuts, as Sir Herbert

Stanley

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Stanley has reported in detail to the Dominions Office.

3. Before seeing General Hertzog, therefore, I had carefully weighed every sentence of my proposed presentation, and I received some valuable hints from Sir Herbert Stanley of which I made full use.

4. After the usual preliminaries I told General Hertzog that I had been instructed to give him information about the inquiry into our defensive position which, as he was aware, had been in progress for some months. I had not been sent here on a mission, but the Cabinet had thought fit to take advantage of my purely private visit to acquaint the Prime Minister of the Union with their trend of thought and with the decisions already taken on these matters. My statement must be considered as on the same footing as the most secret telegrams or C.I.D. memoranda which reached him from the Prime Minister or Secretary of State. I then went on to say frankly that I realized the importance and difficulty in a verbal summary of conveying precisely the right emphasis in describing the Cabinet's policy. That policy remained exactly what it had always been and was directed above all

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to the maintenance of peace throughout the world, support to the League of Nations, Disarmament or at least Limitations of Armaments, and avoidance of new military commitments. I begged General Hertzog to keep constantly in mind, particularly when I came to the more technical parts of my statement, that the Government's armaments policy was carefully attuned to the general policy I had described.

5. After recalling ^{the} events which had led up to the Cabinet's inquiry I proceeded along the lines of the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Disarmament (C.F. 2.5.31) and I was particularly careful in introducing each section to describe the efforts made or contemplated in order to minimize the risk of war, whether in the Far East or in Europe. General Smuts, when I had met privately, had warned me that General Hertzog was rather inclined to under-rate the German menace, and Sir Herbert Stanley had told me that the General's general attitude inclined to Germany rather than to France. I therefore introduced the European section of my statement by recalling the long succession of unpleasant events in Germany that have punctuated

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6. General Hertzog listened intently while I spoke for over an hour and rarely interrupted. Once, while I was describing the danger to London from air attack from Belgian territory and the necessity which might conceivably arise for military action in support of Belgian integrity, I read trouble in his eyes. But I reassured him by reminding him that I was not talking of any immediate danger; that no new commitment was contemplated; that it was not a question of whether we should intervene, but of whether we should be capable of intervention in order to secure the safety of our own capital; that it was not a question of creating an army for these purposes, but of whether, having an army, it should be capable of use in an emergency of this kind if our national safety should require it, and, in conjunction with the Navy and Air Force, of acting as a deterrent to

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a breach of the peace by an aggressive nation. I reminded him also of my introductory statement as to the peaceful aims of our foreign policy.

7. After explaining the decisions of the Cabinet, and the position as regards naval construction and naval deficiencies I ended by dwelling on the tentative and provisional character of the decisions and the intention to keep them under constant review.

8. General Hertzog then rose from his seat and said that he was most grateful to the Cabinet for giving him this information. He had listened carefully to every point and was glad to find that the general conclusions that he himself had been forming were confirmed by what I had said. He realised that in the circumstances of the day our Government could not do otherwise than they were doing. Even the South African Government, which was much further than we are from the danger zone, was
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taking steps to reorganise its defence forces and defences (on which a separate Report will be forwarded in due course). He several times repeated his acquiescence in the policy I had sketched out, and he did not say a single word of criticism of that policy during the two hours of our conversation.

9. The only point on which General Hertzog was at all inclined to be critical was our policy towards France, which, he said, according to his general impression, had not always been sufficiently firm. France, he considered, was at bottom more responsible for the present difficulties in Europe than any other nation. Germany, as he himself was daily experiencing in connection with South-West Africa, was an almost intolerable nation to do business with - and he realized that our relations with Germany, spread over a much wider field, must be infinitely difficult. Nevertheless French policy had really been responsible for the repression of Germany, which was at the bottom of

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our present troubles, and he had a general impression that, on occasions, we might have taken a stiffer line towards France.

10. I then asked if General Hertzog had any particular instance in his mind, and, after a short pause, he admitted that he could not recall one. I then referred to the long story of the concessions that had been made to Germany from the Treaty of Versailles and the favourable offers that had been made to her in connection with disarmament. From first to last it had always been the Government of the United Kingdom that had taken the initiative. But it had always been necessary to bring France along. The Prime Minister and Sir John Simon and their predecessors had tried to secure as much for Germany as France could be induced to concede. In that task it was useless, as experience showed, to try and bully France. The only result would be to render them, and their satellites, completely unforthcoming. As a matter of fact France had come a very long way in our direction since the days of

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115

8.

the Poincaré régime, and, though internal politics, economic conditions and perhaps fear played their part, this was due in no small degree to the conduct of British foreign policy.

11. The General did not argue the matter further, but I think I made some impression on him. His general attitude towards our policy was so friendly and uncritical that I don't think this particular criticism need be taken too seriously. It was more a ^{gentle} general chiding than a criticism.

12. General Hertzog then went on to ask whether the increase in the German forces might not be for the purpose of enabling Hitler to maintain order in a country faced with dire distress when social and economic difficulties are liable at any time to cause breaches of the peace. I replied that Hitler still has his S.S. and S.A. forces, which, even after the reductions now contemplated have been carried out will be more than sufficient for the maintenance of order. I thought the German army and air force expansion could be required only for defence, for offence, or as a support to foreign policy.

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116

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13. The General concluded the discussion by saying that he earnestly hoped that the United Kingdom would never allow itself to be drawn into a war in Europe unless this was absolutely essential to its own security. His view had been that in 1914 we entered the war before this point had been reached. I interpolated that there was more than one side to this latter view, but neither of us wished to discuss it. He continued to the effect that, in the interests of cooperation in the Commonwealth, it was not desirable that we should get involved on the continent, but he realised that circumstances could conceivably arise in which for our own vital defensive interests we might have to act and on a long view he realised that the Government could not afford to neglect its responsibility. He himself did not believe that the contingency in question was likely to arise for a long time to come, though he recognised that the Government could not eschew this in so vital a matter. I do not pretend that these were General Hertzog's actual words. He is apt to use rather vague language and I can only give a very general impression of what he said. But he made it perfectly clear, by frequent

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repetition, that he is in complete sympathy with the Cabinet's defence policy.

14. In the afternoon, with General Hertzog's permission I repeated my statement to General Smuts on his farm at Irene.

15. General Smuts was quite emphatic in his approval of and satisfaction with the policy. He thought that disarmament was dead for the present, but this did not in the least discourage him about the maintenance of peace. He was very much opposed to unilateral disarmament as an example and had been taken to task by Gilbert Murray and others for his attitude. They said he had "let them down" but he had adhered firmly to his attitude.

15. General Smuts evinced much more interest than General Hertzog had done in the Far Eastern question. He was disturbed at the attitude of Japan and said that there were signs of Japan wanting to establish a footing in Mozambique and Abyssinia. If Singapore went, South Africa would come into the front line. He quite understood the reasons for postponing a decision on the long

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CAB 63/69																													
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II.

range naval construction and naval deficiency programmes, but hoped that the strength of the Navy would be maintained, as this is the shield of the whole Empire, including South Africa.

16. As a matter of interest I may mention that, speaking in great confidence, General Smuts advised me not to say much to Mr Pirow about the general situation, as he was not quite sure how closely Mr Pirow may be in touch with the German Minister here. It is unlikely, however, that I shall see Mr. Pirow, who is at Lourenco Marques in connection with the Portuguese Conference and will probably not return in time.

17. General Smuts will be in London early in October and you will have an opportunity to correct me, if you think I have given any incorrect impression of the Government's policy.

18. I have done my best, in the very short time available in a crowded visit, to give some account of these -

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CAB 63/69	
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3	4
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119

12.

these long conversations, occupying five hours
in one day in the aggregate. I had to rise at
6 a.m. to write this letter!

I am reporting certain other points
that arose to the Dominions Office,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) M. P. A. Hankey

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CAB 63/69

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(Signed) M.F.A. HANKEY.

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121

PRETORIA.

CONFIDENTIAL.

7th September, 1934.

Dear Prime Minister,

I am enclosing separately a long and most secret letter describing my conversations yesterday with General Hertzog and General Smuts on the subject of the Cabinet's Defence policy.

I have had a wonderful reception out here. During my week at Cape Town I was lent a motor car by the Government and was conducted into every corner of the Coast defence - all very interesting. There is something of a military renaissance going on here under the impulse of Mr. Pirow and General van Rynveld, the Chief of Staff, which made my task of describing our own defence policy rather easier. The only fly in the ointment has been the attitude of the Malanite press which seized on my visit as the occasion to attack the Government Fusion Party for its so called "Imperialistic" attitude. They were fed by some preposterous articles in the "Daily Herald", "Daily Express" and "Daily Mail". It has been distinctly distasteful to me to feel that my generous and hospitable hosts were being attacked for no reason, but they have taken it very well and been very kind to me.

I have not been able to see Mr. Pirow as he was tied up with a Conference with the Portuguese at Lourenco Marques. Consequently

CAB 63/69

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121^A

I have not been able to make much progress with the mission which was entrusted to me to discuss Mr. Pirow's "cooperation" proposals. I had some conversations however with General van Ryneveld and will report them as soon as I have time.

I do hope that you have returned from your own holiday thoroughly invigorated and refreshed.

With best wishes,

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

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South Africa

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122

MOST SECRET AND
CONFIDENTIAL.

In the train
Pretoria - Cape Town
South Africa.

8th September, 1924.

My dear Harding,

The immense pressure on my time out here compels me to write this letter in the train, but I will see that a typewritten copy accompanies it.

2. In a letter to the Prime Minister, a copy of which is being sent to you for your Secretary of State, I described my interview with General Hertzog on Thursday, September 6th.

3. At the very end of that conversation General Hertzog spoke of his own campaign for Union and repeated in tones of great sincerity and almost of humility what he has been saying publicly about the generous treatment the Union has received from the Government of the United Kingdom. The Union still has some way to go before the policy of reconciliation between the races became fully effective, and he hoped that our Government would continue to give him what help they could. For example, there was

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the question of the Protectorates, which would have to be taken up some day. If he was to speak his own mind quite frankly he would say that, on practical merits, the Protectorates would be a nuisance to the Union and he would rather they remained with us; but questions could not always be dealt with solely from a practical point of view and political considerations were involved.

4. I replied that this was a question on which I could pretend to no expert knowledge and which was quite outside my own sphere -- one on which I did not feel entitled to express an opinion. He quite understood this.

5. General Vertice then mentioned an even more delicate question -- that of the next Governor-General. He said that for my own information he would like me to know the position. There was a widespread feeling in the Union of South Africa that the constant appointment of a succession of Englishmen (sic) as Governor-General involved a kind of a servitude. He thought it would be a good thing if, for once, a South African could be appointed. He did not contemplate that there should be any rule on the subject, but that sometimes the future Governor-General should be

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South Africans, and he rather emphasised the point that the arrangement should be a flexible one. I remarked that my impression was that in Australia the position for the future was left quite open, though I could not claim precise knowledge. He pricked up his ears at this and intimated that, if so, that was interesting.

6. At this point the conversation, which had lasted 2½ hours, came to an end after I had mentioned that I would report what he had said in the proper quarter. If there had been more time I should have explored General Hertzog's views a little further, but I had to leave for an official lunch that was being given for me at the Pretoria Club.

7. The subject came up again during a conversation I had this morning with the Governor-General. As General Hertzog had made rather a point of this being a personal communication, Sir Herbert Stanley and I agreed that I ought not to mention it to the Governor-General, but Lord Blandford broached the subject himself, and warned me that in all probability General Hertzog would press that the next Governor-General should be a South African. He himself had

125

put all the arguments on the other side, but had not been able to move his Prime Minister. The General, however, had told him also that he did not contemplate any fixed rule that the Governor-General should always be a South African. Moreover, Lord Clarendon said, there would be a difficulty in finding the right man in South Africa. The present idea appeared to be to appoint a British South African. General Smuts held the view that in a few years' time all the Dominions would insist on having their Governors-General chosen from the Dominion. (The subject did not come up during any of my own conversations with General Smuts.)

8. In this connection I should like to mention something which dropped up in the course of a most interesting conversation I had held after dinner on the previous evening with Mr Hofmeyr. I had commented on the extraordinary fact that the South African electorate appeared to attach no importance to a rise to eminence of the local M.P. For example, the papers that very day had been full of the diffidence of Mr Tavenor in his own part of the Free State -- to which General Hertzog had alluded. General Botha and General Smuts, who had won the esteem of the whole world, appeared to have suffered politically in their

CAB 63/69

own Dominion for this very reason. Mr Hofmeyr said that this was very much the case among the Dutch South Africans, owing to the strong individuality of the race. He entered into a long and interesting historical digression on the subject, in which I will not follow him. The principle would not apply in the case of a famous athlete, who in South Africa, or elsewhere, would become a local hero, but in the case of a prominent politician local jealousies would arise. A prophet was without honour in his own country in South Africa.

9. The bearing of this on the case of the Governor-General is obvious. If the principle applies to a prominent politician, surely a fortiori it would apply even more strongly to a Dutch South African Governor-General. I mentioned this to Lord Clarendon, who agreed, but said it would not apply to the same extent to a British South African.

10. The names spoken of here for a South African Governor-General are Generals Hertzog and Smuts, Mr Patrick Duncan, and Mr de Venter, or possibly the third Judge on the list, whose name unfortunately escapes my memory (a Roman Catholic).

† Stratford.

127

11. I discussed the matter briefly with Sir Herbert Stanley, whose observations were illuminating, but I shall not reproduce them, as I am sending him a copy of this letter, and I know how closely he keeps you informed on all these questions.

Yours ever,

(Signed) M.P.A. NAUPPY.

Sir Edward Hardinge,
F.C.M.G., C.B.,
DOMINIONS OFFICE.

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CAB 63/69	
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~~SECRET~~

128

In the Train
Pretoria - Cape Town.

September 9, 1934.

~~SECRET~~

Dear Harding,

In Pretoria many people are very disturbed about a new international air line under French auspices, via the Sahara and the West Coast Route to Portuguese West Africa, which is expected to reduce to four or five days the passage to South Africa.

2. Mr Pirow showed me yesterday a letter he had just received from a Mr Falk, who appears to be the agent at this end, asking him for a reply to the new Company's proposal for linking up.

3. Mr Pirow is not yet certain whether these people will make good, and said their capital is only £100,000. The Union Cabinet's instructions to him are to play for time, and he is anxious to play the game by Imperial Airways. But if the new line does make good, Pirow will be under great pressure to give them the mail contract. He was very contemptuous of Imperial Airways' "obsolete machines", which Geddes will stick to. I said I believed it was a matter of the subsidy. Imperial Airways could supply as fast

129

machines as anyone else if they had a sufficient subsidy. "Well, that is not our affair!" replied Mr Pirov. He hoped that the new proposals for the rail contract, of which he had heard from Mr de Water, would come along soon. I could not for the life of me remember the details as regards South Africa of the new scheme, and, if I had, I should have hesitated to anticipate the official communication.

4. Lord Clarendon, Sir Herbert Stanley and Ileschins are all rather disturbed about this matter, on which Bullock is probably active. I have had so much on my hands here, and so little time, that I have not been able to give much mind to it. But in view of Mr Pirov's raising the question I thought it advisable to report, so that you can stir things up.

5. I have not reported this development, which occurred just before my departure, to Stanley, but I will try and get Major Brooks, the Naval Intelligence Officer at Cape Town, to send up a copy of this.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) W.P.A. HANKEY.

P.S. Pirov, who has a strong anti-French complex, affects to believe that this is a French plot to get a large aerodrome on to the borders of the Union, as a possible base for bombing attack! W.P.A.U.

Sir Edward Harding,
K.C., M.O., C.P.

-2-

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COPY.

130

- SECRET -

In the train.
Pretoria - Cape Town.

September 9, 1934.

My dear Dill,

Please a scrawl written in the train. My days at Pretoria and Cape Town are so crowded that I don't get a moment to write.

You will be getting in due course various Reports from me, including some notes on South African Defense Forces and Defenses.

There are two points which I want to mention:-

- (1) Pirow's expression of unfeigned pleasure when I told him of the desire of the C.I.G.S. to give him all possible help.
- (2) A request Pirow made to me re some 5" guns on moveable mountings he is buying from the War Office. They are anti-aircraft guns, and Pirow is very anxious they should be up to their specification. Someone named Hoare (I spelling), connected with the ordnance, I think, is on his way to England. Pirow instructed him that he was to trust the British experts to see that these guns were up to their specification. He is very anxious not to be let down. (Vide also my report.) Will you do anything you can in the proper quarter?

This trip has been great fun, but very hard work, and the British gutter Press did their best to

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131

queer my pitch out here.

You're ever,

(Signed) W.P.A. HANKWY.

P.S. All your notes have been very useful.
Colonel Gordon also useful up to a point,
but wants to grab more of my time than I
can spare.

(Intd.) W.P.A.V.

Major-General
J.S. Dill.
C.P., C.V.G., D.S.O.,
WAR OFFICE.

(THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT).

S E C R E T.

COPY NO. 7

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DEFENCES AND DEFENCE FORCES.

Note by Sir Maurice Hankey.

I attach, for the information of the Service Departments, some jottings on the Defences and Defence Forces of South Africa. This is not a comprehensive Report, for which I do not possess the material, but merely notes made on different days and compiled in great haste and in some discomfort.

2. I was shown everything I had time to see, and told everything I wished to know with the utmost frankness, and I wish to place on record my thanks to Mr. Pirow, Major-General A.J.E. Brink, General van Rynsveld, Lieut. Colonel G.E. Brink of the Cape Peninsula Command, and many other officers for the very cordial and hospitable reception they gave me.

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

(In the train).

Pretoria,

Cape Town.

9th September, 1934.

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I. GENERAL.

After the great war the defence forces and defences in the Union of South Africa, as in the other units of the British Empire sunk to a very low level. Low water spring tide was reached under the late Minister of Defence, Colonel Gresswell, when the keen officers at the head of the Defence Forces were reduced almost to despair.

2. At the present time a veritable renaissance is in progress under the forceful personality of Mr. Pirow, Minister of Defence, and his energetic and able Chief of the General Staff, General van Rynveld. All branches of the defence forces are affected. The reorganisation of the South African branch of the R.N.V.R., approved by the Committee of Imperial Defence last Autumn has already been completed by Vice-Admiral Evans, who, as Mr. Pirow told me, is very much liked and trusted. Mr. Pirow said the new arrangements were working very well (as I saw for myself) and gave a congenial outlet especially for young men of British origin for the performance of their term of service in the Defence Forces, which (as shown below) is almost obligatory. My own superficial observation suggested that there were also a good many men of Dutch origin in the force.

3. So far as Coast Defence is concerned the recommendations of the Committee of Imperial Defence are to be carried out and, if anything, increased. The money has been voted and passed into a suspense account, whence it can be drawn as required irrespective of future annual estimates. The rate of progress in re-armament depends almost entirely on how fast we can supply the new material, and there is a tendency to suggest that we are rather slow in these matters. Mr. Pirow, General Brink and General van Rynveld all expressed great satisfaction

on learning that the Ordnance Factories will be able to undertake orders for the conversion of 9.2" guns to 35° mountings for Dominion Governments at the rate of two such conversions per annum. Within the limitation of their obsolescence the Coast Defence of Cape Town and Simon's Bay are in first rate order from the point of view of both personnel and material. I did not see those of Durban.

4. So far as the land forces are concerned eight new country regiments are being created, bringing the total of infantry battalions up to twenty-four, which, according to present sketch plans are to be organised in three Divisions, the War Establishments of which will not be equal to those of a British Division. This organisation will take some years to complete.

5. A remarkable development is the new Special Service Battalion at Pretoria, with detachments at Cape Town and Simonstown. Theoretically the reason for this battalion is to absorb the younger element of the unemployed and to recondition them with a view to obtaining employment. The men are guaranteed work by the Government, and some are taken into Government employment, but people are wondering how the Government are going to keep their promise. After about 6 or 8 months, efforts are made to obtain employment for them and they can remain for 15 months. While I was in Cape Town a number of prominent men were invited to witness a parade and drill display - the intention being to interest them in the employment side. A very high standard of smartness is aimed at and achieved. The War Office have sent out three Sergeants from the Guards, who are giving the greatest satisfaction, as I ascertained personally, though, on the occasion of my visit to Roberts Heights I unfortunately missed them.

6. A good deal of new material is being obtained for the land forces. It is of first rate Imperial importance that all material should be up to the full specification, when purchased in Great Britain, especially in the case of partly worn material. There seem to have been some complaints in the past, but I was not given details. Any future failure would result in loss both of prestige and orders.

7. The old Boer "Commandoes" are reported to have lost their ancient qualities and can no longer muster large numbers of mounted men and keen shots. For political reasons they have to be retained, but I gather that the present Defence authorities would like gradually to convert them into more modern formations. But the question is a highly controversial one and they will have to proceed with great caution.

8. The South African Defence Force is conspicuously "air-minded". Mr. Pircw flies everywhere. General van Ryneveld is a distinguished air pilot and the general accusation against him is that he does not know enough of military matters. But he is learning rapidly and his keenness on the reorganisation of the Coast Defence Artillery and of the Field Force rather belie the imputation. Undoubtedly, in technical military matters he has to rely, as does any sensible man, on expert advice, but he is very quick and is learning rapidly.

9. One result of having an Air Force Officer as Chief of the General Staff is the remarkable arrangement under which every officer in the Defence Force is expected to fly. Every applicant for a cadetship has to undertake his willingness to learn to fly. Whether he is serving in the artillery or the infantry the young officer is expected to fly once a week to keep his hand in, and facilities are provided for the purpose. At present the Permanent Force is in a state of transition in this respect, but, judging from the number of officers, and

especially young officers "wearing the wings" the experiment has already gone a long way.

10. This plan is defended on the ground that the small Permanent Defence Force has to train the whole of the Citizen Forces in all branches. In order to ensure a properly regulated flow of promotion a common list is essential. There is no room for permanent specialisation in so small a force. The number of specialist posts in any one branch is not sufficient to give change of work and maintain enthusiasm. It is claimed that there is nothing in any branch of the land and air services that any well educated man cannot learn rapidly. From serving officers with whom I spoke, both senior and junior, I heard no criticism of the scheme, and all the Service Officers with whom I discussed it, whatever their previous branch of the Service, declared it to be a proved success. My old Corps, the Royal Marine Artillery, had an almost equally wide training, and, judging by results achieved at naval and military tournaments, and competitions of all kinds, reached a high standard in every branch, so that I myself am not disposed to criticise this most interesting experiment.

11. The criticisms I heard came for the most part from British and South African retired officers, who expressed doubts as to whether in the long run any branch, but especially the technical branches could be maintained in a state of efficiency under this system. The flying qualification would rule out many suitable candidates for commissions and, in later years, would lead to the discarding of officers otherwise well qualified. Even the authors of the scheme did not consider it suitable to forces on our own scale.

12. The main defect of the Union Defence Force at the present time is the shortage of officers, due to the reductions that have taken place in recent years. At present the small force is 150 officers short of establishment, and, without causing a hopeless block in promotion in future years, not more than thirty cadets can be taken in any one year. I heard of cases where three Staff Officers are doing the work of ten. All the officers I met, both in the Cape Peninsula and at Pretoria and Roberts Heights, were overworked. But everywhere the utmost enthusiasm prevailed and Mr. Pirow was tremendously popular.

13. Both the authorities and the officers themselves are most anxious to exchange duties with British Officers and to attend such establishments as the Imperial Defence College, the Staff Colleges at Camberley and Andover, and specialist courses of all kinds. I did all I could to encourage this spirit and I was knocking at an open door. But for the present the shortage of officers is a limiting, and almost a prohibiting, factor.

14. On the question of interchanges General van Rynveld asked me to tell the War Office and Air Ministry that he would be most grateful in his present difficulties if on occasion they would allow, in the case, for example, of one British Officer coming to South Africa for a year, that two officers of the Union Defence Force should go to England for six months each. He wants a certain amount of elasticity.

15. Both Mr. Pirow and General van Rynveld were gratified to learn of the desire of the General Staff to help them. I expect that before long there will be a request for the loan of experts, especially for coast defence. In the Cape Peninsula I found the senior officers, including

some officers of the Citizen Forces very up to date in technical matters and tremendously keen to learn the latest developments in fire control, etc.

16. The Defence Force College at Roberts Heights is a very alive institution. Besides training cadets it provides "refresher" courses for officers of the Permanent Force and Citizen Force. Every young officer of the Citizen Force has to undergo a course of one month at the College in order to qualify for promotion - and in most cases his annual holiday has to be devoted to this. This applies also to officers of "Commandoes". The War Office have, I think, the complete list of courses, which includes the training in Staff Duties Course, a kind of elementary Staff College Course.

17. To all intents and purposes compulsory service is in operation in South Africa to-day. At the age of 17 every boy is sent a form on which he states the branch of the Service in which he is willing to serve. This is treated as an undertaking to serve and he is in due course enrolled and called up for the training periods prescribed for his branch of the Service (Naval, Military or Air). There appears to be considerable doubt as to whether an unwilling man could be compelled to serve, and some day, I fancy, difficulties may be raised.

18. Senior Officers told me that military service was popular. A Dutchman enlisted in the Cape Town Highlanders will search his pedigree for a Scottish ancestor. But a group of young officers with whom I discussed the question said that the military training periods were far from popular, largely because employers treated it as the annual holiday. However, the system appears to be tolerated.

19. The League of Nations Union does not appear to count for much in South Africa at present. I never saw in the newspapers or heard any reference to it. But there is

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a good deal of pacifism. One officer of the Citizen Force said "We object to war, but we rather like military training and exercises".

20. As regards war material the present policy of the Defence Department is gradually to develop local resources and to reduce dependence on overseas supplies as much as possible. The Union Government has already decided to create a factory for the manufacture of small arms ammunition. There are several factories which manufacture explosives for the mines and I gathered that some of these would in due course manufacture cordite. The S.A.A. factory is to be located at Roberts Heights. Eventually they hope to manufacture guns and shells and bombs, and already the Defence Department has its eye on the new, large and very up-to-date steel works at Pretoria for supply and P.S.O. purposes, but these developments are rather futuristic.

21. I walked through the Air Force repair and manufacturing establishment at Roberts Heights and saw them making various types of aeroplanes. Air engines are all imported. This organisation has grown up rather haphazard, but there is to be an entirely new lay-out when the S.A.A. factory is erected. All the mechanics for the Union Air Force have first to spend seven years at the factory. General van Ryneveld told me that the close acquaintance with aircraft construction obtained by this training produces very reliable mechanics, with the result that his squadrons require a lower establishment of mechanics than those of the Royal Air Force! I made no comment!

22. General van Ryneveld justified the present policy by the time it takes to obtain war material from England. In time of war they would be low on our priority list and for this reason they want to reduce their dependence as

much as possible. They realise the importance of standardisation in war material with this country and intend to manufacture to British patterns.

23. As already mentioned, it is very important, if we are to keep this market, to ensure that all war material supplied from England is well up to the specification, and delivery should be as prompt as possible. The South Africans are rather impatient of delay just now. Provided he can secure absolute reliability and reasonably prompt delivery I think that Mr. Pirow will place his orders in Great Britain, but of course he has no British affiliation and sentiment does not enter into the question very much.

24. The prestige of the Committee of Imperial Defence and of the British Service Departments is high in South Africa and was reflected in the attention which was paid to my own remarks. The division of opinion on the Chiefs of Staff Committee on the South African Coast Defence question in 1928 (C.I.D. 309-C) produced a deplorable impression (as I foresaw at the time must be the case), but the unanimity which now prevails was known in the highest circles dealing with defence and the Chiefs of Staff Committee is now held in the highest esteem, as is the Imperial Defence College. The report of the Joint Defence Committee attached to C.I.D. 309-C was fortunately unanimous and is the accepted basis for South African Coast Defence.

25. Some separate notes on Coast Defences are attached.

II. COAST DEFENCE.

26. Immediately on my arrival at Cape Town I was invited by Colonel Brink, the Officer Commanding in the Cape Peninsula, to visit the coast defences. Owing to the rumour published in the local press about my visit I suggested to Colonel Brink that it might be advisable to consult the Defence Department at Pretoria, which he did. The Department confirmed the invitation, and I hesitated no longer. I did not see in the press any reference to my visit to the defences.

27. This invitation was particularly welcome for the reason that I was a member of the Owen Committee, which visited South Africa in 1906 to re-arm the defences, and I had never seen the results of our Report. I was also Chairman of the Joint Committee of the Home and Overseas Defence Committees, which made recommendations for revising these Coast Defences in 1928 (C.I.D. 309-C). I felt it was appropriate that I should see these works.

28. I visited the Cape Town defences on August 29th and those at Simon's Bay on August 30th. I visited every battery, gun, P.F. station, D.R.F. station, Command Post, searchlight, and power-house. Every magazine, store-house, etc., was open to my inspection.

29. I am less up-to-date in these technical matters than I was when serving on the active list, but my general impression is that everything is in the most perfect order. I did not like to enter every magazine and shell store, but in the case of one battery at Simonstown I felt considerable doubt as to whether the proper complement of 9.2" shell was available. I was assured, however, that when the new 35^c mountings were received a full equipment of the newest pattern shell would be provided.

30. I was assured that regular practice was carried out from all batteries at towed targets and that good practice was made. This was confirmed by a British retired army officer who had attended several shoots and by a naval officer. The guns are being worked on the latest system of salvo fire, which has entailed some alterations in mechanical arrangements at Simon's Bay. Two British naval officers were in the Cape Town batteries for observation purposes during exercises held while I was at Cape Town.

31. The manning arrangements for the batteries are, I think, somewhat unusual. A few men of the Permanent Force live in each battery and could bring a gun into action at almost a moment's notice. On mobilisation of the defences all the guns would be manned by the permanent forces. But behind these there are trained gun crews from the Citizen Forces, recruited from university men, engineers and persons of good class, who would replace the Permanent Forces if (as would almost certainly be the case) the latter were required elsewhere. I met some of these Citizen Force men, who seemed very keen.

32. Another feature of the manning arrangements for Coast Defences in South Africa is that the Engineers have been cleared out altogether, even the searchlights being worked by the Garrison Artillery. Lt. Colonel Armstrong, who commands the artillery defences, told me that this arrangement had proved entirely satisfactory. I recall that, when the Owen Committee visited Simon's Bay in 1905 we found a lack of co-ordination between the R.G.A., who worked the guns, and the R.E., who worked the lights!

33. Yet another distinctive feature in the manning arrangements of the fixed defences of the Cape Peninsula is a curious arrangement under which all the junior artillery officers are also airmen and wear their wings on their tunics. These officers are expected, in addition

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to their duties with the coast defences, to keep in flying practice, and four machines (one of which had crashed) are at present kept at an adjacent aerodrome, without any special pilots, for this purpose. I spoke to several of these "dual-purpose" officers, who are used by Colonel Brink to take him about for inspections, etc.

34. Some people are dubious about this arrangement, which is being extended* and illustrates the "air-mindedness" which pervades the South African Defence Force. The criticisms I heard were from retired officers and serving officers appeared to take it as a matter of course. The experiment appears to be worth watching.

35. The use of air forces for coast and coastal defence has not made much practical progress in South Africa, up to date, but a squadron known as the Cape Air Squadron is actually allocated for the Cape Peninsula and is at present at Roberts Heights undergoing training. For the moment the scheme is held up by the difficulty and expense of acquiring a suitable aerodrome on the Peninsula. They may be driven to acquire an aerodrome outside the Peninsula, but this would involve providing new barrack accommodation. There is no intention that the development of air forces for coast defence shall interfere with the modernisation of the gun defences.

36. A new notes on particular batteries and lights, where these call for comment, are appended.

CAPE TOWN DEFENCES.

Lion Battery.

(2 9.2" B.L.).

37. The Owen Committee in 1906 were warned that Signal Hill, on which this battery is situated, some 625 feet above the sea, was apt to be covered in mist at times. The Committee's solution was a P.M. station lower down

* All applicants for Cadetships in the Permanent Defence Force have to state their willingness to fly.

144

the hill, from which the battery could be fought. I was told that this solution worked satisfactorily. On the occasion of my visit the battery was in mist, but the P.F. station was quite clear.

38. As part of the inevitable expansion of Cape Town, houses are creeping up the slopes of the hill, not far from the low level P.F. station. I asked whether any difficulty was raised about firing practice from this battery, as there are many houses between the guns and the shore, about 1,000 yards away. I was told that formerly trouble was raised, but now the press have adopted a more reasonable attitude and not much difficulty is encountered. In fact, this year they intend to fire forty rounds from Lion Battery, including four full charges.

Wynyard Battery.

(2 5-inch B.L. VII).

39. No remarks. The battery is much used for training the Citizen Force of Garrison Artillery.

King George V. Battery.

40. In accordance with the recommendation of the Joint Defence Committee the guns (2 4.7-inch Q.F.) have been removed, and I did not visit this battery.

41. Lieut. Colonel Armstrong, Commanding Garrison Artillery, regretted the disappearance of the two electric lights from this battery. During night exercises that week a sloop had crept in along the Milnerton side of the Bay and had only been picked up by the Morville Point lights at the moment when she opened fire. Before long some mobile lights will become available, and two of these will probably be allotted to a station on the Milnerton shore of the Bay.

Boom Defences.

42. A Committee has been appointed locally to consider boom defences, but the subject is held up owing to uncertainty as to the eventual width of the entrances in connection with expansion of the port, which is now under consideration. As Mr. Pirow is Minister of Ports and Harbours, as well as Minister of Defence, no prolonged delay is anticipated and the matter has not been lost sight of. The Royal Navy consider a single net only is necessary, unless the eventual width of the entrance channel is radically altered, which is improbable. The Naval Commander-in-Chief is taking the matter up with the Admiralty.

Miscellaneous.

43. The petrol tanks, and, I think, the oil tanks are in a large excavation behind the docks and concealed from view from the sea. They are rather too near the town and their site is criticised locally. If they ignited their smoke might easily mask Lion Battery. As a precaution against fire the tanks have floating roofs.

44. A very good objective for enemy bombardment is the large electric Power Station near the shore, a mile or so north of Cape Town. The whole district depends on this station, which, however, is well within the defended area.

(For anti-aircraft defence see paragraph 59).

Simon's Bay Defences.

45. All the existing 6" guns mounted at Simon's Bay are Q.F. and not B.L., but at Middle North they are to be replaced by 6" B.L. VII in the near future.

Upper North and Scala Batteries.

(1 9.2" B.L.X apiece).

46. These batteries, on magnificent high sites with no local mist, are now fought as a single battery in order to

obtain the advantage of salvo fire. A concrete road (rather narrow at the bends) has been built. They are surrounded (as are all the batteries) by an unclimbable fence. Everything appeared in first class order.

Noah's Ark Battery.

(3 9.2" B.L.X.).

47. The Joint Defence Committee recommended that this battery should be abandoned, but it is being retained until the 35° mountings have been installed at Upper North and Scala Batteries. The left gun is nearing the end of its effective life. The battery would be manned in the event of mobilisation. The guns will probably be kept "mounted in reserve".

Queen's Battery.

(4 6" Q.F.).

48. The recommendation of the Joint Defence Committee that this battery be abandoned has not yet been carried out, and, on mobilisation, the battery would be manned. It will not be re-armed. The interference of the oil tanks with the field of fire (particularly in the case of the two left guns) is not very serious, and practice is carried out regularly.

49. The searchlights are to be retained, whether the battery is kept or not, for the examination service. (It will be remembered that the Joint Defence Committee left this point for the decision of the local authorities).

Boom Defence.

50. This is a naval responsibility. The boom defence is kept on the mole near the entrance.

Personnel.

51. There are about sixty men of the Permanent Garrison Artillery at Simon's Bay, some of them living in the ports.



The rest of the garrison is at Wynberg Camp, half way to Cape Town.

52. In normal times the Garrison Artillery at Simon's Bay are in charge of a Captain (Villiers), who is on very good terms with the Navy.

53. On the occasion of my visit the Garrison Artillery, in addition to their ordinary work, were in charge of about forty men of a Special Service Battalion, who had no other officer.

54. A number of old huts were being reconditioned in the artillery establishment for occupation in connection with the expansion scheme.

Mobile Artillery and Garrison.

55. I saw the following movable armament at Cape Town -

1 battery of 6" Howitzers.

1 battery of 60 pounders.

1 battery of 18 pounders.

The manning arrangements are similar to those for the fixed armament.

There are two battalions of the Citizen Force at Cape Town (The Duke and the Highlanders) and two new "Country" battalions are being formed to increase the war garrison to four battalions.

(For anti-aircraft defences see paragraph 59).

Durban Defences.

56. I did not have an opportunity to visit Durban, but Mr. Pirow and General van Ryneveld both told me that the intention is to replace the existing 2 6" Q.F. guns by 6" P.L. Mark VII guns. In addition a battery of 4 6"

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148

Mark XIX (?) guns on movable mountings will be allotted to Durban to reinforce the fixed battery.

57. There will also be a squadron of aircraft at Durban.

Port Elizabeth and East London.

58. Mr. Pirow told me that it is his intention to station a Section of 6" Mark XIX (?) guns on movable mountings at each of the above ports.

Anti-Aircraft Defences.

59. General van Ryneveld told me that a section of anti-aircraft guns and an electric light section will be stationed at each of the following:-

Cape Town.

Simons Town.

Durban.

I had already been given a hint of this at Cape Town.

Armoured Trains.

60. Two armoured trains were referred to. I had no time to inquire their purpose. One, I think, is for the Cape Peninsula. The other, possibly for maintenance of order in Johannesburg mines - but this is only a guess.

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149

UNIE VAN ZUID-AFRIKA.—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DEPARTEMENT VAN VERDEDIGING
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE,

PRETORIA.

9.9.1923

Dear Sir Maurine Hartley.

Thank you for your letter of 5th, I am sorry I did not see an opportunity to meet you while you were in Pretoria. I think it was a pity both the Genl. (Col Brink) and my self. were not called in to see you while you were at D.H.Q.

I am glad to hear from London that you were favourably impressed with the state of the defence at C.S. Her work & accompanying deserve great

credit for the other officers of the ¹⁵⁰
personnel.

I trust you will have a
pleasant and successful trip.

Yours sincerely

H. B. W. W. W.

151

Lee Ann - PK
Yon

S. L. L.

3/17/34

Queen's Hotel.

152



Cape Town.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Sea Point.

11. IX. 1934

TELEGRAMS FOR HOTEL ROYALIST, SEA POINT.
TELEGRAMS FOR VISITORS QUEENS SEA POINT

TELEPHONES 4-1121 (10 LINES)

Dear Bungie,

I have had the enclosed copied.
Then send the original to Hatfield
and a copy "private & confidential"
to Battersea.

Yours ever
m. p. a. Hawkey

P.S. You will be glad to hear that
this is probably the last letter you
will get for a month. When letters
come they will be in shoals!

m. p. a. H.

COPY.

153

QUEEN'S HOTEL.

Seapoint.

CAPE TOWN.

SOUTH AFRICA.

11th September, 1934.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Chatfield,

In thirty-six hours, when I get to sea, I shall try and pull together the threads I have gathered here on the very interesting situation in this Dominion.

In the meanwhile I thought you would like to know that, apart from the Crown, the most important factor in the Imperial connection here is the general and widespread popularity of the Navy among all sections of the population, Dutch as well as English. It has to be seen to be believed.

I hope that this admiration is deeply rooted, but there can be no doubt that Evans has done much to foster and extend it. To begin with he has acquired a good knowledge of the African language, which has touched the hearts of the Dutch. Next, he is indefatigable in giving lectures all over the place, mostly on the Navy but also on Scott's antarctic expedition, all redounding to the spread of British prestige (which he does very modestly - I have heard him) and knowledge of the importance of sea-power to S. Africa. At this moment he is on his way to Johannesburg and Pretoria to speak for the Navy League and he must have spoken about four times during my short visit.

He has accomplished this public work with the full approval of Ministers out here. At Pretoria Ministers spoke to me of him in glowing terms. Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Defence, told me that he wished Evans' term could be extended for a year or two. I know, of course, how difficult that would be, but it makes the question of a successor very important. Evans himself believes that Dickens has the

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right qualities. At any rate the choice of the right man is very important out here politically.

Both at the Headquarters of the Defence Department in Pretoria and in the Cape Peninsula Command here everyone is loud in the praise of Evans in particular and of the Navy generally. What they are especially grateful for is the facilities given for helping in the training of the coast defences (the personnel of which are very keen) by joint exercises and advice.

Evans has made a striking success of the R.N.V.R. scheme which was fixed up last year. I saw the Officers and men, who seemed very keen. The Naval Staff out here are working on the arrangements for their use in war, but I gather a good deal remains to be done as the Defence Department is lacking in expert knowledge. I only mention it to show that it is being tackled.

The naval people here, and some others, are concerned at the withdrawal of the "Dorsetshire" just now. They seem to have an idea that the Government may offer some further contribution to the Navy, e.g. either a ship or personnel. Sir Campbell Stuart, who has collected as much information as I have at Pretoria, told me yesterday that there is to be an important Empire Press Conference here in February, and that it was a great pity that there would be no big cruiser as it was a great opportunity to influence public opinion. The point is that, if the Union should offer anything (and I have no direct information on this) Hertzog would presumably do it when he comes over for the Silver Jubilee next year, so that, politically, the intervening period is very important here. I know how close-reefed your sails are just now and how little margin you have to play with, but I am sure if there is anything you can do you will.

I found Smuts very keen about the Navy and anxious to be helpful. He arrives in England for a fortnight

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CAB 63/69

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135

early in October and I strongly urge that you and the First Lord should see him. He said nothing to me about any possible offers from the Union, but he made a wonderful reference to the Navy in a speech on May 9th which made a great impression here. He was very interested when I described to him the situation in the Far East in connection with Defence Requirements. "If that position (i.e. at Singapore) is not secure", I said. "South Africa becomes a position of first importance in the front line." "My God, yes!" He replied! I was careful not to frighten him and did not speak in detail of naval deficiencies either to him or Hertzog. I did just hint, however, that it would do a lot of good if he could repeat at home, both privately what he said to me about the supreme importance of the Navy and publicly what he said last May. That is why I hope the First Lord and you will see him early. He may be able to help.

In closing I should like to mention Major Brooks, R.M., the Naval Intelligence Officer here, who has his office close to Military Headquarters at the Castle. From the Commander of the "Winchester Castle" to the Defence authorities at Pretoria, everyone has spoken very highly of him, including Admiral Evans and our High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Stanley, and his Staff.

Good luck to you,

Yours ever,

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

P.S. Make any use you like of this letter.
M.P.A.H.

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156

13th September, 1934.

My dear Batterbee.

Many thanks for yours of the 13th enclosing copy of telegram from the High Commissioner of the Union about Hankey's wells. The three letters in question are not urgent, and it will be all right if Hankey receives them when he is in Melbourne.

Yrs

(Sgd) R.B. Stowell

Sir Harry Batterbee, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.,
Dominions Office.

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13 September, 1934.

My dear Howarth

No. 146. 12th Sept.

I enclose a copy of a telegram from the High Commissioner in the Union about Hankey's mails. If the letters are urgent it would be possible to send duplicates by mail ^{today} ~~to-morrow~~, the 13th, to reach Hankey at Adelaide.

Yours sincerely,

428

SIR HUPERT HOWORTH, K.C.M.G., C.B.

158

Telegram from the High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa for H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Dated 12th September. Received at 12-8pm 12th September 1934.

No 146.

Two letters for Hankey and one for Lady Hankey all bearing Cabinet Office seal arrived here in the Dominions Office bag by today's ocean mail. Hankey sailed from Capetown for Fremantle today Wednesday in S.S. Ceramic and I can only forward them care of Government House Melbourne by the first opportunity. I mention this in case they are urgent and some means could be found of sending duplicates from London to reach him at Fremantle.

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WHITE STAR LINE.

159

S.S. Ceramic

17. IX. 34

Dear Burgis,

The enclosed letter to Battenberg, written on deck on a rough & rather cold voyage, is not one of my better efforts, but, all the same, I should like to have a copy. So please have it typed

Yours ever
M. B. A. Hankey

Copy.

160

WHITE STAR LINE.

S.S. CERAMIC.

14 Sept. 1934.

Dear Batterbee,

I promised, now and again, to send you any impressions I might form of the political situation in the Dominions. In South Africa I had so much to write on particular subjects that I had no time before leaving to sort out my ideas on the absorbingly interesting general situation, and that is the subject of this letter.

South Africa appears to me to be confronted with the following major problems, which are to a great extent inter-connected:-

1. The white racial problem.
2. The black racial problem.
3. The poor-white problem) I don't do more than
4. The Indian problem) mention these.
5. The problem of the Protectorates.
6. Relations with adjacent territories.

Round these problems I will group my appreciation.

The White (Anglo-Dutch) racial problem is, in a sense, the key problem, since the other problems can only be solved satisfactorily and permanently if the two dominant white races are in agreement. This is recognised by General Smuts, and, I think, by General Hertzog. The former told me that the whole political situation of S. Africa had degenerated and the solution of all problems had been held up owing to what had come to be regarded as a personal feud between Hertzog and himself. They both saw it must be ended and the efforts of Tielman Rooa did the trick. Now, so far as I could judge, the two are working in close accord. One hears rumours that they exasperate each other, but they both spoke very nicely of the other to me and none of their Cabinet colleagues gave me the slightest hint of a rift. When I asked Hertzog if I might give Smuts the same

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161

account of our Defence Requirements situation as I had given to him, he at once acquiesced and said it was most important that I should do so - though I am told that ordinarily he keeps external affairs very close and tells his colleagues little. I was very glad Bodenstein was away at Lorenzo Marques, as everyone I met told me he was a bad influence. He was formerly either editor or on the staff of Die Burger, the Malanite paper which was unpleasant about my visit. I gather that even Hertzog does not entirely trust Bodenstein now-a-days. Smuts did not dissent when someone spoke disparagingly of Bodenstein in his presence.

Much seems to me to depend on Hertzog and Smuts retaining their health and their unity. Both looked extremely fit. Smuts is lying back and not very active politically, as he has his party in his pocket. Hertzog is working desperately hard and stumping the country. I spoke appreciatively of his speeches, which, from an Imperial point of view, have been admirable - given his past - and expressed pleasure at seeing how well he was standing the strain. He replied that great as was the physical strain, the real strain was in having to combat old colleagues - a task only too familiar to your chief and mine. Nevertheless, in both Hertzog and Smuts I thought I discerned a distinct relief that their long-drawn feud had come to an end. I missed seeing Havenga, who was away speaking; Patrick Duncan, who was at Lorenzo Marques; and Fourie, who is trying to rehabilitate his rather dubious reputation by stumping the Cape Province in favour of Fusion. General Kemp was not considered worth wasting time over, as he has become unpopular owing to his failure in the impossible post of Minister of Agriculture. But I had a long and most interesting

talk with Hofmeyr, an old head on young shoulders. My talk with Pirow was too short, and too crowded with defence questions to enable me to draw him on the political situation. The best opinion seems to agree that the future leadership lies between these two. Hofmeyr struck me as having the better and broader mind; but Pirow has more punch and drive and is usually "tipped" as future Prime Minister. Personally, in the long run, I would back Hofmeyr, though I found no-one to agree with me. Pirow is subject to absurd obsessions about the French and the black peril, and I find it difficult to believe that his judgement is good enough for the highest office. I have a notion, also, that in time people will kick against his "militarism", which, as I reported in my Memo. for the Defence Services, is tantamount to enforcement of the compulsory citizen service law. Pirow is undoubtedly aiming at the creation of a much stronger military spirit than at present exists in the Union. If he can maintain the present policy for ten years he will succeed. He knows his own mind and has immense courage - two of the principal attributes of a statesman - but my doubt is as to whether he has the political judgement.

I had some talk with Colonel Denys Reitz, who is interesting and attractive, but not of the same calibre as Hofmeyr and Pirow, and Mrs. Reitz, M.P. for a Johannesburg constituency, an English woman who was particularly interesting on the general political outlook. I also had several long talks with John Martin, who gave me an enormous lunch at the Rand Club, when I met all the leading people of the Rand. In addition I had a talk with Colonel Stallard, the Natal extremist. Unfortunately I didn't meet Melan or Erasmus, but I met some of their supporters.

From all this I get the impression that Fusion has come to stay - for some time at any rate; that the

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political leaders supporting it believe in it and are genuinely anxious to bring about a complete reconciliation between the two races; and that all sensible people in the Union share their view and see that this is essential to the good of the country. All sensible people! Yes. But what a lot of suspicious diehards there are in South Africa! One expects it among the old Boers of the Veld and among extreme Calvinists and such like. But I was surprised to meet so much "die-hardism" among the British gentry. They hail for the most part from Natal, but they are to be found everywhere. Lady Phillips (wife of Sir Lionel Phillips, who is very sensible) irritated us very much on the voyage out by violent abuse of the Dutch (many of whom were listening at adjacent tables). On one occasion I took her up and she got so cross that she said she would never talk politics to me again! Later on the Captain of the ship had to "tick her off". There is a "General" Royston on board this ship of similar type, and I met a good many one way and another. These people do more harm even than the Dutch extremists. They talk of S. Africa as a conquered British colony on which we ought to impose our will. They talk of all Dutchmen, including Smuts, as quite untrustworthy, and "slim" to the last degree. "He is deceiving you, when he is most friendly". And they have no use at all for the policy of racial reconciliation. They tell you all kinds of stories of systematic maltreatment of the British by the Dutch, e.g. in Government service, and they complain bitterly and universally that in recent years the British Government has sold the pass. They are easy to defeat in argument, because they know little of what the situation was before the Statute of Westminster, and I have disconcerted some of them by quoting

speeches and events of 1904 and 1911. But they are really outside of being influenced by argument.

The real difficulty appears to me to be that the British are throwing up no good politicians in the Union. Patrick Duncan does not appear to cut as much ice as he did once, and the "die-herde" tell you he has "gone over to the Dutch". Colonel Stallerd is a decent old boy, but could never be a big political leader. There are no British "Pirowe" or "Hofmeyre" and I heard of no "coming men" among the British with the possible exception of one labour man from Natal, whose name has escaped me. It is not that the British are degenerate. Even apart from the mines, the commerce and industry of the country is in the hands of the British - except for the inroads of the Jews. The Dutch play no appreciable part in commerce. But the Dutchman is far more politically minded than the South-African Britisher and for good or ill has grasped the political machine. At bottom I think the reason is that every Britisher has his home affiliations and many look to the time when they can return to the old country, whereas the Dutchman has his roots firmly embedded in the soil of S. Africa. He has nowhere else to go. The people on the mines and such commercial people as I met seem quite content with this situation. They grumble a bit at taxation, as we all do, and at the "socialistic" tendency of Governments, and at the large proportion of the population in State employ - but these things do not sting them into throwing up first-rate politicians. I didn't get the impression that the mal-treatment of British State employees by the Dutch politicians goes very deep, though undoubtedly it exists. The main grievance is the provision that all State employees must be bi-lingual. This, in theory, is only reasonable. The Dutch outnumber the British and breed faster. The natives also (at any

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Reference:-					

165

rate in and around the towns) speak Dutch more than English. Admiral Evans learned the Africeans in a few months, and I cannot believe that any intelligent man or woman, who gives his or her mind to it, cannot pick it up. My chauffeur, a South African Airman, who hails from Yorkshire, spoke it quite well. The grievance one hears is that, whereas the Britisher is expected to reach a very high standard in Africeans, the Dutchman is let off with a very inadequate knowledge of English. I have heard a great deal of this on board the "Ceramic" but it is all rather general and vague.

There is a South Australian on board this ship, who left Australia to fight in the Boer war, entered Government Service, and is now Chief Postmaster at Port Elizabeth. He says that there was a period during which the British were perhaps rather hardly used, but that it is rapidly disappearing, especially since the Coalition Government was formed, and that he is confident, by the time he gets back from his six months holiday it will have disappeared, but that the "die-hardes" will never admit this.

Of course the bilingual business is carried to absurd lengths. A University Professor (Walker, whom I expect you know) told me that it was absurd to examine students of science or history in Africeans, when all the text books are in English! Nothing more absurd could be imagined than the rule in the Defence Force that the orders and instructions should be given in English and Africeans on alternate days! The Africeans are greatly inferior to English for crisp words of command and for detailed instructions, and some of the Dutch officers themselves laugh at the politicians over this. They find the translation of orders, notices etc. a great nuisance, and do not attempt to translate the technical

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166

books of instruction. I was told by an English lady, an avowed diehard, but wife to a connection of mine by marriage, that the British officers in the Defence Force were being badly treated. But none of them gave me a hint of anything of the kind; neither did our own naval officers, who are very friendly with the Defence Force, nor any of the retired officers I met, some of whom gave me a lot of information. I may get more information on this point.

My chauffeur told me that the British and Dutch soldiers in the ranks get on very well together. On the other hand it did seem to me that among the younger officers of the defence forces (both permanent and citizen) rather a large proportion were Dutch S.Africans - though that may be a coincidence.

To sum up - on the whole I am inclined to think that, during the régime of Dertzog's National Government there was a set against British State Employees, and that in a good many cases the language rule was applied unfairly, particularly against the older British employees. I suspect that these cases have been exploited to their full "nuisance value". I believe that, since the Coalition was formed matters have improved, and that a genuine effort is being made to hold the balance fairly. But that will not be easy, unless the extremists on both sides agree to drop the "die-hard" spirit and work for complete reconciliation.

As regards the prospects of the Fusion government, I gather that when the House meets they do not expect that the opposition to muster more than about twenty-six (14 or 15 Malanists, 3 or 4 Standaardites; Tielman Roos and perhaps one adherent; a sprinkling of Labour men, at present lacking a leader. In the event of a general election (which is talked of vaguely) the Government

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CAB 63/69					
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Reference:-					

167
would expect to win a few seats - but political opinions on this vary very much.

At any rate, the Hertzog-Smuts Fusion appears likely to hold the field for some time to come; and, as I said, all the saner people I met, British as well as Dutch, wish it well. Some of the "old guard", whom I met at a luncheon at Cape Town (Burton, for example, the former Treasurer), wagged their heads and said they had heard these stories of racial reconciliation again and again, e.g. in Botha's time before the war, but that nothing lasting ever came of it. Others, like Carruthers Beatty, Principal of Cape Town University, and Sir James Rose Innes, took the line that improvement was going on all the time, but that, as after the Union of Scotland and England, we must expect shocks from time to time for a long time to come. At any rate we have reached the stage when former opponents in the Boer will exchange stories of that war and follow them with stories of the Great War, when they were fighting together. This happened quite often during my visit and I found hardly any bitterness even from people who had suffered loss and hardship in the Boer War. The spirit towards these war episodes was one of "à la guerre, comme à la guerre!" The Crown and the Navy are enormously popular in S. Africa and the importance of our sea-power to the Union is better understood than is its importance to the Empire in some quarters at home. The treatment accorded to me myself and the attention paid to all I had to say made me feel that the prestige of the United Kingdom is really tremendous and that, in spite of politicians' speeches, there is not the remotest fear of a breakaway.

One minor point in the white racial problem which I have overlooked in this appreciation is that the extremist leaders on the Dutch side are men who did not fight in the Boer War - a point Hertzog is using - while those on the extreme British side (Stellard excepted) did not fight in the Great War!



I have already noted that the White Racial Problem is a key problem, the solution of which is essential to that of the other South African problems. Now that fusion is an accomplished fact I think the pitch is clear for the tackling of the other problems. These are all interconnected one with the other, and in most of them we are directly or indirectly concerned.

On board the WINCHESTER CASTLE, on the voyage to S. Africa, I talked to people, including officials like Carbutt, of S. Rhodesia, members of local Councils, etc., from all parts of Central and East Africa, and even before landing at Cape Town I was beginning to form a provisional opinion that the Native problem ought to be tackled on a much wider basis than at present.

In all these territories, from Kenya to the Cape, the fundamentals of the problem appear similar. At present the Natives are in tutelage, but it is widely recognised that they cannot remain so for ever -- at any rate not in their present state of tutelage. In the mines Natives use hydraulic drills and drive electric trains (causing fewer casualties than white drivers) and, but for Government restriction, they would be used for higher classes of work. In other parts of Africa they make quite good typists. They are excellent chauffeurs and can tend as well as drive the machine. Some of them are very decent, loyal and devoted people. They cannot be kept for ever, as many are in the Union, protean figures, wearing a parody of European clothes, and living to a great extent in abject poverty and squalor. There is a widespread recognition of this, even in unexpected quarters, -- but when it comes to the cure it is a case of quot homines, tot sententiae. Some believe in Native Reserves, but others criticise them on the ground that they will always prove too small for natural expansion

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of population, or that valuable mineral resources may be discovered in them, which the natives will be incapable of exploiting. The Carbutt scheme, which Huggins is alleged to favour, is an extreme extension of this plan and is said to be rather in line with views held until recently by Hertzog. Now, according to Campbell Stuart, Hertzog contemplates a South African Native Parliament within the Union, with limited powers, a kind of Imperium in Imperio. Some say that the Native should be kept in tutelage, and that, having known nothing better, he is quite content. I am sure there is no radical solution, and that Native policy must be very gradual in application.

Before I left England I tried to discover what was the difference between the Dutch and the British treatment of Natives, and I have been trying to find out ever since. Liesching has given me the clearest idea on the subject. He says that the Dutchman (as mentioned earlier), having his whole stake in S. Africa, ~~will~~ with nowhere else to go, cannot afford experiments with the Natives, and feels he must keep them in repression. The Carbutt school replies that this is merely sitting on the safety-valve and must lead in time, when the Native is better educated and has been worked on sufficiently long by agitators, to a general upheaval of the black man against the white man. (More than once in Cape Town I saw black mob orators addressing native crowds. I was told they were Communists and were tolerated because they appeared to make absolutely no impression.) But I doubt if it can be said with truth that there is a distinctively British or a distinctively S. African treatment of Natives. For example, from what I am told, Southern Rhodesia is closer in its methods to the Union than it is to the Colonies.

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170

In S. Rhodesia the Natives are under a similar general supervision, I think (passports: accounting for their presence in towns, etc.). They are virtually debarred from exercising certain skilled professions, such as bricklaying, etc., in the towns, but not in the country. The Southern Rhodesian is as horrified as the Dutchman at the idea of employing Natives as typists in Government offices in Northern Rhodesia or of allowing them to rise to the position of (say) Postmaster.

What makes this difference of Native treatment serious is the existence of the mines, which draw native labour from all over Africa. They meet in the compounds (where they are very well looked after and fed -- for 2nd a head -- about three times as well and incomparably more scientifically than the Britisher of any class, rich or poor). They exchange ideas and experiences. They go back home with money to burn, and probably with a contempt for their old tribal system. They arrive at the mines, as a rule, in poor physical condition. Fed on a balanced diet, supervised by famous scientists, they go back stalwart men -- sometimes destined to relapse into ill-health on a diet (like cassava bread in Zanzibar) devoid of vitamins. Moreover, apart from the mines, there seems to be a lot of migration in Africa. In Cape Town one runs across Natives from as far north as Somaliland.

The point which struck me, very soon after my arrival in Cape Town, was that there ought to be an exchange of views and experiences between the various British Commonwealth Governments concerned in the Native question, in order to discover how far co-ordination of policy might be desirable. That view has been accentuated by subsequent experiences and information

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71

For example, if the White Racial Problem is a key problem in Africa, so is the Black Racial Problem to at least an equal extent. If you could get an agreement on the broad lines of Native Policy, the problem of the Protectorates would become easier of solution. At present the Protectorates are a nasty scandal, which leaves an unpleasant taste in the mouth.* Either we shall have to run them properly, which means spending money, or hand them over. In my heart of hearts I believe that sooner or later we shall have to hand them over. But we must do the square thing by the Natives, and we must "have face" in S. Africa. The handing over will be much easier as part of a larger settlement.

Personally I am inclined to think that the first step should be a small Committee of about three wise people, who would be sent to S. Africa to examine the situation in the Protectorates, to discuss it with the S. African Government, to ascertain the opinion of the Natives within the territories, as far as possible, to find out how the Union runs its Native Reserves (I am told they do it very well) and to study relevant Native questions generally, and report to the Secretary of State. Such a Committee would do a great deal of good by bringing home to people in the Union that the question was being tackled seriously at home, and not just left to drift.

I did not get a chance of discussing this idea of a Committee with Stanley. It only occurred to me on my last day during my talk with Clarendon, and was rather pushed out of my head by the conversation with Pirow, which followed immediately after. But Clarendon jumped at the idea of a Committee of Inquiry and asked me to mention it -- which I do, but with all hesitation owing to my lack of real knowledge of the subject.

* You should hear Cecil Pfordde on the subject.

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After the Committee of Inquiry the next stage might be the African Conference, of which Pirow threw out a hint to me, as already reported. I am not suggesting that the Protectorates should be handed over at the Conference! That stage may be much further off, and must be prepared for with infinite care in order not to "lose face". There may be all sorts of intermediate solutions or stages between the present position and complete handing over. No. I should regard the African Conference rather as an opportunity for mutual exchange of views and mutual education, a Conference of preparation rather than of action. Pirow, for example, is a man whom we ought to meet much more often face to face. I am certain I could have done something with him if I had not been limited to a single hour. He has queer obsessions, a violent anti-French obsession, an absurdly exaggerated fear of a great black bogey in Africa. In the give and take of Conference, and more especially of the accompanying opportunities for private exchanges of views, a lot of Pirow's corners would be rubbed off.

When Pirow mentioned a possible Conference, he was mentioning something which had already occurred to me, but which I had not mentioned or hinted at to a soul, and I was very careful not to say anything as to how the idea was likely to be received. To do any good it would have to be attended by Ministers, e.g., S. of S. for Dominion Affairs, S. of S. for the Colonies, and S. of S. for War and/or S. of S. for Air. In my view it should be made clear from the first that its purpose is largely for interchange of ideas and information, and any suggestion of the immediate emergence of great policies should be discouraged. If they come spontaneously, tant mieux, but it would be advisable to pitch announcements in a low key.

173

I don't believe these African problems can be solved in a hurry. But I do believe there is a larger common denominator of agreement than is generally suspected. On the whole, therefore, the idea of a Conference appeals to me, provided the obvious material difficulties can be overcome.

This letter is much too long, and is rather presumptuous from one so ignorant of African affairs. To an expert like yourself it is probably all rot. You can show it to anyone you like, or to no-one, or you can put it in the fire. I fear it is very badly written, but there is a 70 m.p.h. gale blowing.

I hope you had a good leave and are fit and well.

Yours ever,

(Signed) W.P.A. HANKEY.

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VERY PRIVATE.

Stanley was a delightful host and took infinite trouble, and, I fear, put himself to considerable expense, to make our visit a success. He gave three dinner parties, a lunch, a cocktail party, etc., so as to enable us to see everyone. He also arranged for us to spend a most interesting day at Johannesburg. On the whole I should prefer that he did not see this letter, as there is a certain amount in which he would not agree. On the "Dominions" as distinct from the "Protectorates" side he is, as you probably know, rather more "die-hard" in his attitude than I. He is outwardly on excellent terms with Ministers, and none of them gave me any hint that they have anything but the highest regard for him. Nevertheless I suspect they realise that Stanley, at heart, does not entirely trust them. It may be that Stanley is right and I am wrong, but my own instinct is that the only way to make real progress with these people is on the basis of trust and "cards on the table", and the creation of an atmosphere in which you can say hard truths to each other without causing offence on either side.

(Intd.) V.P.A."

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11
175
King post: Hodson

To see
return to P.O.

LB.

17/9/

17b

14th September 1934

Dear Burgess,

I enclose a letter from
Harvey to Battersee. You will see that
in the postscript he asked that it
might be sent to you to take a copy.
Will you please return it in due
course and, if you are making copies,
perhaps you could let us have one
as well.

Yours sincerely,

C. W. Dixon

177

Queen's Hotel,
CAPE TOWN,
South Africa.
27th August, 1934.

Dear Batterbee,

Many thanks for your letter and enclosure.

I was met to-day by Colonel Brinck (no relation of the General), who commands locally and by the naval C. in C. Evans, an old Pal, who is immensely popular and talks Afrikaans.

Brinck invited me to visit the defences of Cape Town and Simonstown and I accepted. I was a member of the Owen Committee of 1906, which designed the defences on the spot, and I was in the Chair of the J.D.C. which recommended the changes which are to be put in hand, and the case for accepting the invitation appeared a good one.

But after reading at my hotel Stanley's despatch to the D.O. reporting the press clutter about my visit, I telephoned Brinck to suggest my visit to the batteries might embarrass the Government and that I had better cry off. He then telegraphed to Pretoria asking for authority to invite me, and received an affirmative reply. That is tantamount to an invitation from Pirow, so go I shall.

It is all rather comic! I will write again later, but in case any more trouble arises from my visit to the defences I wanted you to know the facts.

Yours ever,

(Sgd.) M.P.A. HANKEY.

P.S. I hope you got away on leave. Kindly send this on to Burgis to take a copy.

(Intld.) M.P.A.H.

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178

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
PRETORIA.

13th September, 1934.

My dear Hankey,

I am very much indebted to you for your two letters from Cape Town, and for the copies of your record of your conversation with Pirow and of your letters of the 8th and 9th September to Harding.

Your letter to Harding about the West Coast Air route scheme will be very useful. I wrote to him on the same subject (and generally in the same sense) by the last Air Mail. I also wrote personally to Geddes, warning him as a friend that the question of the time occupied in transit might prove a factor of great importance at this end.

I think you may feel quite sure that your visit here was entirely successful and has served a most useful purpose. I need hardly say

that -

Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey,
G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.,
c/o Government House,
Melbourne,
Victoria,
AUSTRALIA.



that to me it was a very real pleasure to have you and Lady Hankey as my guests, and that I have appreciated immensely not only the interest of our talks but also the great compliment which you paid me by taking me so fully into your confidence.

Your letters to the Prime Minister have been despatched (in our official bag to the Dominions Office) by this week's Ocean Mail, and will arrive in London on the 1st October.

It is more than kind of you to offer to take a friendly interest in my boy Harry. He returns to Eton (R.A.Young's) on the 19th September, and my wife sails for South Africa on the 21st.

With the best of good wishes for the remainder of your Grand Tour (which, I trust, will not all of it be quite so strenuous as were your days in the Transvaal)

Yours ever,

H. Stanley



180
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall,

CHEQUERS: October 6th 1934.

My dear Hankey,

As your address is a little bit uncertain, I shall not say more than that I heartily congratulate you on your explanations to the two leaders of the South African Government as regards the policy of the Government here.

I hope you are having a good holiday and are enjoying yourself as much as I gather you have done in South Africa. I shall certainly be very glad when you are back.

With Kindest regards to your wife and yourself, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Ramsay MacDonald

Col. Sir Maurice Hankey, GCB, GCMG, GCVO.

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181

February 22, 1935.

My dear Gordon,

Thank you very much for sending me the report of Pirow's speech to the Imperial Press Conference. I had seen a fairly full report in the English newspapers, but I think yours is rather fuller.

I agree generally with your comments on the speech, which were very similar to what I made at the time.

Excuse me, as I am absolutely up to my neck in work.

Yours sincerely,

W. J. H. D. L. S. M.

Colonel R. I. D. Gordon,
Drumearn,
Elgin,
Cape Province,
South Africa.

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Dorling

6. XII. 34

My dear Stanley

Many thanks for your most
 interesting letter, written from the Ceramic,
 giving your impressions of the South African
 political situation. I have sent your
 letter at once to Harding & suggested to him
 - what you say about the native and
 Territories questions seems to me especially
 interesting and important. We must have
 a talk about it all as soon as you
 return - which I am glad to think is

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Reference:-

'183

in about a month's time. One thing
certain. Quite clear - we must get Piers
here. Somehow or soon as we can - but
how & when waits some thinking about.

I write this letter from home, as
unfortunately I have managed to pick up
an influenza germ which seems to have
settled in the lungs on my right side
where I had serious trouble many years ago
and to have caused a small patch of
congestion - which I am thankful to say
is now clearing up. I have been away
from the office for more than a fortnight,
and am afraid that it will be some little

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time yet before the Doctor has the return. I
 have idleness & inaction, not perhaps too
 enforced but may be good for me.

I have been reading all sorts & kinds
 of books from Thackeray's who strikes me as
 being extraordinarily modern to 'Wuthering
 Heights' which has in it some of the
 qualities of a Greek tragedy - was it
 not in the happy ending which I suppose
 would upset Aristotle's theory not which
 I am bound to say I rather like, not
 being at heart, I suppose, a highbrow.
 I have also been reading Lionel Lincoln's
 'Circles of Life'. Have you had the chance of

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reading it yet? And if so when do you
think of it? It is an extraordinary
compans of history and religious
or political theory.

We shall be hearing soon of your
Joung in Australia - by letters I mean,
as of course we have already had several
letters. How did you find Dick Carey,
not growing too pontifical as a minister,
I trust. I am a little bit afraid sometimes
that we waste you & he to preserve his
class of humaneness, though I am sure that
he will do his best in that direction.
Visit to Canada will

I hope that you visit Canada will
 go smoothly & not be too strenuous, and that
 the pass will be an easy one. Anyway, I am
 sure that Parker will have done his best to make
 the best arrangements possible.
 With all good wishes to Lady Stanley & family
 for Christmas & the New Year
 Y. S. S.

D.O: 2

7040/1027

185A

With the Compliments of the
Under-Secretary of State for Dominion
Affairs.

Dominions Office,

Downing Street, S.W.1.

29 JAN 1936

193 .

186

COPY

AIR MAIL

SOUTH AFRICA

High Commissioner's Office,

Dominions

Cape Town.

No. 9.

14th January, 1935.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that fresh interest in Sir Maurice Hankey's tour of the Dominions has been stimulated in South Africa by the publication of press messages purporting to disclose some of the results of his discussions in Australia and New Zealand.

2. The terms of Reuter's message on this subject, which was published by the daily newspapers throughout the country, may be seen in the enclosed extract from the "Cape Argus" of the 4th January. A much more sensational message from London found a prominent place in the Johannesburg "Sunday Express" on the 6th January, and was reproduced on the front page of "Die Burger" on the 9th January under heavy headlines. I enclose a translation of the article from "Die Burger". The original message published in the "Sunday Express" emanated from the Africope agency, whose activities have been the subject of comment in separate correspondence.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) W.H. CLARK.

High Commissioner.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

J.H. THOMAS, M.P.,

etc., etc., etc.,

DOMINIONS OFFICE.

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STRONGER EMPIRE DEFENCES

PROMPT ACTION FOLLOWS
HANKEY REPORT

AUSTRALIAN AND NEW
ZEALAND PLANS

£20,000,000 TO STANDARDISE
COMMONWEALTH RAILWAYS

London, Friday.

ACTIVE steps are being taken to improve the defences of Australia and New Zealand following the visit of Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

A Wellington message says that in order to facilitate the Government's policy of strengthening New Zealand's defences, Major-General W. L. H. Sinclair-Burgess has accepted a two-year extension of his term as Chief of the General Staff.

Mr. J. G. Cobbe, Minister of Defence in New Zealand, declares that much has already been done to modernise the Dominion's defences and much more is to be done in the near future.

UNIFORM GAUGES

Immediate steps are being taken in Australia, says a Melbourne message, to implement the recommendations made by Sir M. Hankey, notably an early start to make the railway gauges uniform. This will cost £20,000,000 and, incidentally, will diminish unemployment.

According to an Auckland message, Mr. Cobbe said in a speech: "There is nothing doing in the direction of conscription as far as New Zealand is concerned."

He added that he was unable to speak for Australia.

Mr. Cobbe said that although the conversations with Sir Maurice Hankey were confidential, he could frankly state that conscription had never been mentioned.—(Reuters.)

The resumption of compulsory military training was advocated by Sir Maurice Hankey in his report on Australia's defence, according to a Melbourne message to-day. Sir Maurice paid a private visit to the Union on his way to Australia.

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EXTRACT FROM "DIE BURGER" OF 9TH JANUARY, 1935.

HANKEY MISSION ROUSES ANXIETY EVERYWHERE.

EVEN A LONDON PAPER ASKS: "WHY THIS SECRECY?"

LESSON FOR STANLEY BALDWIN.

CO-ORDINATION OF THE EMPIRE'S DEFENCES.

The mission - cloaked in mystery - of Sir Maurice Hankey, the man who is co-ordinating the defences of the British Empire, to the Dominions, is rousing comment even in England, according to a cable from London in a Johannesburg paper.

Everywhere in England it is being asked, why Baldwin reproaches Germany for re-arming in secret, at a moment when the Hankey mission presents all the appearance of a secret conspiracy.

Just like South African Ministers the British Premier declared, in all seriousness, that Sir Maurice's world tour concealed nothing more than relaxation for Sir Maurice.

But as soon as he had slipped away quietly, the feeling grew that the purpose of his tour was to give information and advice to the Dominions with regard to plans for the defence of the Empire. The first fruit is now making its appearance in Australia.

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"HOLIDAY TRIP", SAYS MACDONALD.

Under the title "Hankey-Pankey Tricks" the "Sunday Express" publishes the following cable from London in last Sunday's edition:-

The latest news from Australia declares that the Government is prepared to devote £20,000,000 to making uniform the railway gauge over the whole of Australia with a view to defence.

There will be considerable additions to the Air Force. New depots will be opened, the first in Perth. There are also rumours - though officially denied - that a British officer will be appointed as head of the Australian General Staff.

HANKEY-PANKEY FRUIT.

These are the first fruits of Sir Maurice Hankey's tour of the Dominions. "Hankey-Pankey" (as he is generally known) left England quietly a few months ago. It is known that he is the most important person connected with the co-ordination of the Empire's military defences.

London has picked up its ears and says that Hankey is a disturber of the peace, and people are asking of what this tour is the forerunner.

Questions on the subject in the Committee of the British House of Commons drew the reply that the Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence was on a holiday tour of the Dominions. The Prime Minister tried repeatedly,

though -

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though fruitlessly, to tell the House that this was the only explanation. Now the first results of the secret mission are being brought to light.

IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

Later telegrams announce that he suggested that Australia should again introduce conscription and should fortify Port Darwin, Newcastle and other vitally important places exposed to attack. He emphasised the fact that the Governments of the Dominions in the Pacific would have to undertake a large share of Imperial defence in the Pacific.

The United Kingdom does its own share by converting Singapore into a fortified Naval Base, which will perhaps be stronger than any other place in the world. Hankey's proposal apparently means that Australia's defence expenditure must compensate for the fortification of Singapore.

From Australia Hankey went to New Zealand and Canada, and from there back to England again.

This is undoubtedly one of the most important and far-reaching Empire missions since the Great War. Why this deep mystery, is the question continually asked by the British Press.

TWO CLOAKS.

The "Daily Herald" points out that Baldwin urged Germany to lift "the cloak of secrecy" in connection with her rearmament, since secrecy awakened suspicion and suspicion fear. He might ^{just} as well have

applied -

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applied these words to the British Empire, the "Daily Herald" declares, for "with the same hardly successful circumspection a cloak of mystery is being thrown over the defence preparations of the Empire. It is fatal and intolerable that the appearance of an underhand conspiratorial errand should be given to Hankey's perfectly intelligible mission."

The same paper also makes an attack on the Admiralty for its attempt to keep secret the fact that the Government has decided that the strategic needs of the Empire necessitate an increase of 20% in cruiser strength.

"The people of the Empire have the right to be informed and consulted", says the "Herald."

MACDONALD MUST SWALLOW.

Meanwhile authentic political rumours are being circulated to the effect that the Cabinet is anything but a happy family. This is a burning question, and Ramsay MacDonald has for a long time been hesitating to give his Tory friends free scope with regard to defence.

There is talk of the Prime Minister eventually leaving the Cabinet and refusing to swallow the last reactionary pill. If Ramsay MacDonald resigns from the Cabinet, Baldwin will follow, says a well-known political observer.

While the British Empire is busy increasing its armaments, the United States are going even more headlong in the same direction. The published estimates show that Congress will be asked to increase the Army Fund by £90,000,000, with £20,000,000 for the expansion of the fleet which is already the largest fleet the United States has ever possessed in peace time.

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Don't have comp. and
 to me high time
 think a lot of Beyers
 when I know they will
 "pass for each"
 R. L. D. Jordan

Thank you for the
 your letter from
 Pretoria. I will
 try to be careful
 telling him that you
 did as he thought
 you R. had not tried
 to keep your home
 away from it. By the
 way, N. G.
 it was
 back to
 time

Drummers, 192
 Elgin,
 Cape Province.
 Feb. 11, 1935.

I enclose a full report of
 Pirou's speech to the Imperial Press
 Conference at Capetown on Tues. last (5th)
 on the subject of the Union's Defence
 policy as it has of course aroused a great
 deal of discussion both in S. Africa &
 evidently at Home, so it is very desirable
 that you should have a full report.
 It is quite possible ^{indeed} that some one has
 sent or is sending you a report by this
 Air Mail only the supplementary Air Mail
 which left Johannesburg on Sat. (2nd) but
 even if that is so there is no harm in
 sending you another.
 I really do not see anything to take
 exception to in the speech, it is a statement
 of a perfectly common-sensible policy.
 Discussing it the day after the speech

1935

11 194

UNION IN TIME OF WAR

Mr. Pirow on Taking Part in "Oversea Adventure"

MIGHT LEAD TO CIVIL WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

The defence policy of the Union Government was explained by the Minister of Defence, Mr. O. Pirow, in a speech at the opening of the Imperial Press Conference at the University of Cape Town, Groote Schuur, yesterday morning.

Mr. Pirow emphasised that the main purpose of the Union's defence system was not to prepare for war but merely to obtain security against attack.

He made it clear that the Union looked at her defence policy chiefly from her own point of view. There was no anti-British feeling in South Africa, he said, but if a war broke out and the Government were to attempt rashly to commit the country to any overseas adventure he was afraid that there would be large scale disturbances, possibly even civil war.

TEXT OF MINISTER'S SPEECH

Mr. Pirow said:

To the sympathy which Major Astor has expressed to General Smuts in his illness I think a special note of regret will be added that it will be impossible for him to address you to-day.

I am sure his speech would have supplied a reply to many of the difficulties which will present themselves to the Empire Press Conference. In that speech he would have presented a framework into which I would have been able to fit a number of difficulties in connection with our defence policy, this being the speech upon which I have been asked to address you.

The best thing for me to do is to mention some of these puzzling features which will undoubtedly stimulate curiosity among the members of the conference.

I am quite sure it will not be long before the gentlemen of the conference will want to know why it is that a direct vote of secession from the British Empire would meet with an absolute negative response, yet on the other hand the Government is not prepared to participate in any general scheme of Imperial defence.

NO COLOURED SOLDIERS

On the other hand it may be asked why it is that with some of the best fighting material, coloured and native, not a single non-European soldier is in the Union's military training.

Well, Roberts Heights you will find the regiments in suitable form. You will see clouds of thick grey-green clouds.

recollection than to those who fought against us. And that has had the effect in connection with policy far beyond what is apparent to the general public.

You will be surprised to hear, those of you overseas visitors who have not been in South Africa before, that as recently as 1914, at the outbreak of the Great War, it was only the determined lead given by Generals Botha and Smuts that induced the majority of the Afrikaners-speaking people to assist in the attack on South-West Africa.

The story is told of General Coen Brille—a man who afterwards fought with distinction in the South-West and East African campaigns—that he sent

GENERAL SMUTS

SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT IN HIS CONDITION

The Cape Times is informed that there was a slight improvement in General Smuts' condition last night, and that he was feeling easier. His doctors held a consultation yesterday and have decided to give him special treatment from to-day. His illness has been attributed to

The Prime Minister, Mr. Hertzog, will call on Smuts this morning.

NOTES IN THE HOUSE

MEMBERS DISCUSS SOCIAL QUESTIONS

CRIMINAL ASSAULTS ON WOMEN

MAJOR V. D. BYL ASKS FOR DRASTIC PENALTY

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
Tuesday, February 5.

Major van der Byl achieved a high degree of success this afternoon with his motion asking for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider emasculation as a punishment in sexual crimes. While he was not able to get his motion accepted, he extracted a promise from Mr. Duncan on behalf of the Government to give earnest consideration to more effective methods of combating the increase of criminal assaults on women.

Major van der Byl dealt with a delicate subject tactfully but forcefully. He urged that the habitual sexual criminal was a little without any claim to the sympathies of humanity. Ordinary punishments were without avail and the threat of the death penalty often led the criminal to murder his victim. The penalty he proposed would prevent the criminal repeating his offence, would be a punishment and would be a warning to all who might contemplate similar crimes.

Major van der Byl's case was heavily documented, and the House was amazed to learn of the frequency and regularity of crimes against women. Over a period of a month or so Major van der Byl was able to produce Press cuttings reporting numbers of the most audacious and brutal assaults. And, as the hon. member emphasised, only the more sensational affairs were reported in the newspapers and only a fraction of the actual assaults were even reported to the police. He spoke strongly on the iniquity of some of the sentences imposed, and the House showed its agreement.

A RETROGRADE STEP

But while hon. members agreed with Major van der Byl that action was required, there was no substantial feeling in favour of the method he proposed. Mrs. Reitz felt it was a retrograde step; Dr. Hermee doubted its efficacy and pointed out that mutilation as a punishment had been abandoned in Christian countries for 300 years; and Mr. Patrick Duncan, who spoke in the much regretted absence of General Smuts, said there were very grave reasons for opposing any form of mutilation.

But Mr. Duncan and other members agreed that the hon. member had performed a valuable service in forcing the attention of the House and the public on an urgent problem. "Women feel that they have not adequate security," said Mrs. Reitz, and urged, with other members, that judges and magistrates should impose more severe penalties. Eventually Major van der Byl withdrew his motion on the understanding that the Department of Justice would investigate the possibility thoroughly.

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DEFENCE POLICY EXPLAINED

(CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE)

six days a week objects which he is called up and asked to put on khaki.

The result is that we have an official uniform as uncomfortable, unhygienic and unsuitable as possibly can be found. We have certain units, the Special Service Battalion, a new pioneer regiment that has just been formed, and a number of urban regiments, in a light, serviceable khaki.

This anti-khaki prejudice is disappearing, but whether it will disappear altogether is impossible to say. At any rate, it would be a very rash man who would attempt to hasten the pace of this particular tendency.

QUESTION OF BILINGUALISM

Bilingualism is a relic of the Boer War in the sense that it flows from the Treaty of Vereeniging. It is not a source of bitterness, but, as the contrary, provides us with the basis of the very cordial co-operation between the two races.

I want to express my own opinion very definitely that it is only the fully bilingual South African who can fully understand his fellow South African. There never has been any eclecticism on the part of the Afrikaans-speaking South African citizen to whom English comes as easily as his mother-tongue. On the part of the English-speaking South African who knows Afrikaans and understands the mentality of one people there has been no racialism either.

Of course, I take these extreme cases by way of illustration. There are many of our English-speaking friends who show sympathy and understanding of the other section of the population which could not be improved upon even if they were fully bilingual. But I have put it in this exaggerated form to show how important it is that in matters of public administration bilingualism should be fully insisted upon.

MILITARY SPHERE

In the military sphere we have Afrikaans regiments whose English is of a very elementary description. We have English regiments who know no Afrikaans at all. The personnel have to deal with the instruction of both these regiments. If we want efficiency, it is quite clear that the African soldier has to be addressed in the language that he best understands.

It has often been suggested that we might use interpreters in these difficult circumstances. You might deal with native troops that way, but I do not think it is in accordance with the dignity of our soldiers in a country where bilingualism is guaranteed by our constitution.

With one small permanent force we have to change the personnel constantly, and that means that a man who is flying a single-seater fighter one day may have to take over the instruction of a company of the Special Service Battalion the next day.

BASED ON COMMON SENSE

Our attitude to the navy is certainly not dated back to the Boer War and is certainly not based on anti-British feeling. It is based entirely on common sense. The object of the Navy in the first place is not to protect us, but to protect British ships and British trade. Incidentally we get a very substantial benefit.

On the other hand the object of our coastal defences is to make it as difficult as possible for any enemy to land on our shores. Incidentally the naval squadrons in our shores get a very

Our coastal defences are up to date. We have a reliable personnel force, an efficient artillery, and an outstanding air force, a national reserve of seamen, the majority of whom are excellent shots and keen guerrilla fighters.

The principles in connection with the training and general composition of our units are largely affected by geographical considerations. Our coastal defences are intended to resist anything but a large-scale attack, and in regard to our land forces we concentrate on mobilising and fire effect.

With our outstanding air force always near we anticipate that we would make it unpractical for an enemy. We have well-equipped bases and one line of communication are rapidly being extended.

MERELY FOR SECURITY

To come back to the general question: "Why all these preparations when, as most people feel, we may not be drawn into a war in our lifetime?"

The purpose of our defence training is not to prepare for war. It is merely for security and to defend ourselves if we are attacked, and the main purpose is to raise the general standard of citizenship.

We have proved that with the raw material at our disposal you can produce remarkable physical fitness, a proper appreciation of discipline and a true sense of South African patriotism in the limited time allowed us for training purposes.

We hope there will be no war in our lifetime. Whether there is or not the money we are spending will be spent in making better citizens of our young men.

"GATEWAY TO THE WEST"

Now comes the question: "Why should we be prepared at all?" But unless a nation has 100 per cent. guarantee against any attack at all at any time it would be remiss not to provide for a system of national defence within the limits of money and men available to it.

South Africa has not such 100 per cent. guarantee. On the contrary, our geographical position, while itself bringing certain safeguards, brings also a number of very grave risks.

Some centuries ago the Cape became the gateway to the East. It is possible that it may again become the gateway to the East. It is possible, and that would be infinitely worse, that it may one day be considered the gateway to the West.

On the land side we are portion of a great continent very sparsely inhabited by Europeans. South of the Sahara we are the only white territory of any consequence, an enviable position perhaps, but not without considerations of danger. There is a great disparity in numbers—whites are outnumbered 30 or 50 times—and we must have in mind that a large portion of Africa is to-day being turned into a parade ground for militarised natives and that they are being encouraged to develop to the equal of Europeans.

OPPOSING VIEWS

One half of Africa has adopted the policy of assimilation, political, social and other equality with the white man. The other half are definitely opposed to that policy and pin their faith to a policy of differentiation, of encouraging the native to develop to the fullest extent along his own lines and reach the highest standard of civilisation available to the native, at the same time insisting that the demands of the white man should remain pre-

TRIUMPH OF ART
STERNEVOLUTION OF HER ART
AT EXHIBITIONPORTRAITS COMMAND
ATTENTION

Irma Stern has for many years been an outstanding personality of the South African art world. She is one of the small number of artists whose work is known and appreciated in the large world of Europe.

Her South African reputation has become consolidated with the progress of the years, and the spread of knowledge of modern methods and outlook in art. There was a time when the coming of an exhibition of Irma Stern's work was the signal for "the luncheon to rage furiously together."

But Miss Stern pursued her path with the true integrity of the artist, and in her example of work from a dozen years of effort we can perceive the gradual evolution of her mind, a small portrait, the earliest example of it all, already looking forward to the very latest development of her art.

It is an interesting commentary on the evolution of taste to see again these dramatic and sympathetic studies of native life, so satisfying in their restrained but moving of colour and line, and so haunting in their intensity of expression, and to remember that this is done by these beautiful canvases executed in 11 then a group of Cape Town natives had begun to paint.

An artist should be judged by his latest work, and Miss Stern would be the first to acknowledge that in her striving for the best she has sometimes strayed from the legitimate resources of her medium and in this of severity and power and deeply achieved shyness and timidity. But it is hardening to find that in this present exhibition, with the possible exception of the group of early portraits, that the best picture seen the very latest canvases from Miss Stern's easel.

There is, for example, No. 44, "Nude," a finely balanced pattern of gold, silver and orange, accented by a note of blue. There are a group of portraits which will be the focus of much interest.



The High-spirited (Amelcan) in Johannesburg, who features a...

...a group of people in a dynamic scene, possibly dancing or socializing. The painting is characterized by bold lines and a focus on movement, typical of Irma Stern's early work. The figures are depicted in a way that suggests a sense of rhythm and energy. The background is dark, making the figures stand out. The overall composition is balanced and visually appealing.

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Then we also have the Special Service Battalion and the new pioneer regiment which is being formed.

Many of you will consider the possibility that I have mentioned as far-fetched. I am not denying that. I am not denying that they might seem a trifle unrealistic, but is their anybody prepared to deny that the Alger today is as different from the Algeria of 20 years ago as Europe is different from pre-war Europe today? Can anybody predict what the position is going

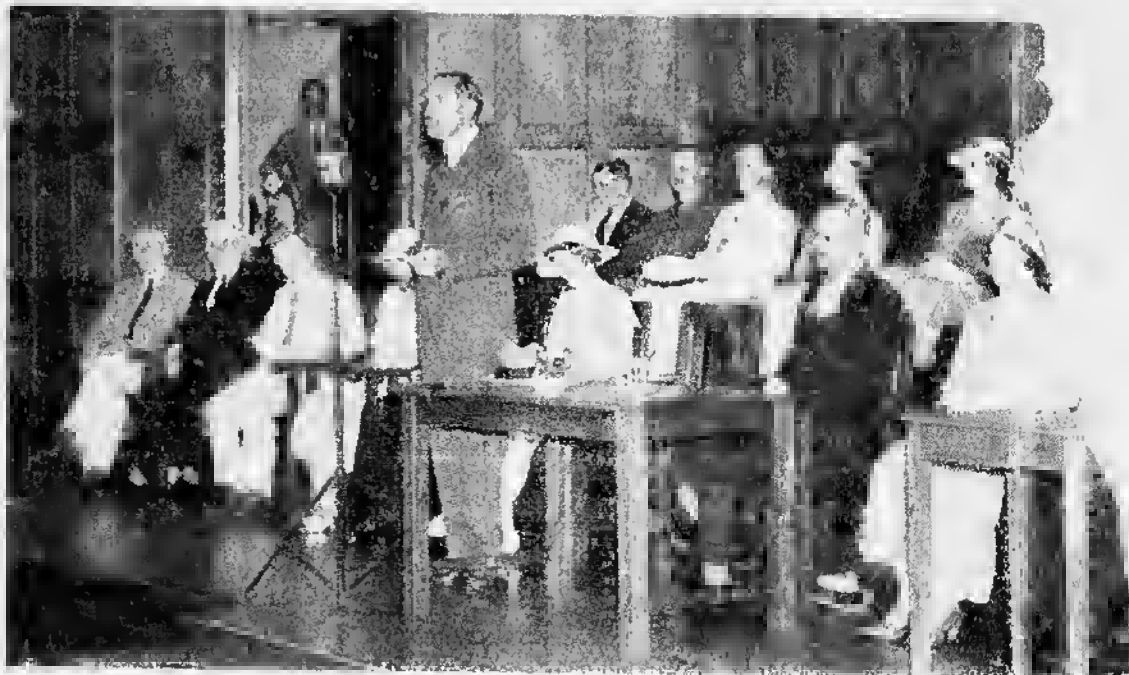
EDWARD BOWORTH

Between these two extremes the Government has tried to find the correct course. What I have represented a compromise, but the best compromise possible in the best interests of South Africa.

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The Governor-General presiding at the 10th Imperial Press Conference in the Assembly Hall, Ottawa, last night. To the right of the speaker are Major Fu Hui J. J. Asing (Chairman of the Conference), the Hon. J. J. A. Poirer, who, as Minister of Defence, made a notable address on the Union's defence policy.

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The Governor-General formally opening the fifth Imperial Press Conference in the Jamson Hall, University Buildings yesterday. To the right of the picture are Major the Hon J. J. Astor (Chairman of the Conference), the Countess of Pieter, who, as Minister of Defence, made a notable address on the Union's defence policy.

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Reference:-

Miss Dumas, Mr. D. W. McCay
and Miss McCay, Mr. and Mrs. T. M.
Goddie, Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Hayles,
Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Scabridge, Mr.
and Mrs. G. A. L. Green, Mr. and Mrs.
Robert Allister, Dr. A. L. Geyer and
Mrs. Geyer, Mr. and Mrs. Olfemann,
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Muir, Mr. T. W.
Mackenzie and Miss Mackenzie, Mr.
and Mrs. J. Tomlinson, the Hon. J. H.
Mait the Hon. C. R. Lockhart.

Mr. Frank and Lady Meyer, Lady de Villiers, Miss Anthea Chapman, Captain the Hon. F. E. Harris, the Hon. Mrs. Asquith, Miss Rosemary Russell, Mr. and Mrs. H. T. Andrews, Mr. and Mrs. A. V. Lindbergh, Mr. M. Fysner, Mr. and Mrs V. Fysner, Mr. and Mrs. A. Liberman, Dr. and Mrs. N. L. Ashton, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Masenthal.

The Deputy-Mayor and Mayoress (Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Low) entertained another large supper party in the Council Chamber. Their guests included: The Judge-President of the Cape Province and Mrs. J. G. Gardiner, Mr. Justice E. F. Watermeyer and Mrs. Watermeyer, Mr. Justice H. S. van Zyl and Mrs. van Zyl, Mr. Justice P. S. T. Jones, Brig.-Gen. and Mrs. J. J. Byron, the Hon. W. A. Dean, Rev. A. J. S. Lewis and Mrs. Lewis, Sir Harry and Lady Hands, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Thorne, Mr. and Mrs. E. R. Syfret, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Graham, Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Findlay, Captain B. G. Viljoen, A.D.C., Mr. J. H. Davis, the Mayoress of Pretoria (Mrs. Ivan Solomon) and her mother, Mrs. Goldin.

(Continued in next column.)

Nunez), Mr. Justice and Mrs. J. Stratford, Mr. and Mrs. Percival Liesching, the Auditor-General and Mrs. C. F. Schmidt, Sir John and Lady Kotze, the Consul for Germany and Frau B. Stiller, the Acting Consul-General for Sweden and Mrs. Nils Heggard, Dr. Shaddick Higgins, Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Watermeyer, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ilenwman, the Rt. Rev. Coadjutor Bishop and Mrs. S. W. Lavis, Lady de Villiers Graaff, the Consul for Switzerland (Mr. M. Bothner), Mr. and Mrs. C. W. A. Coulter, Mr. and Mrs. D. H. Visser, the Consul-General for Greece (Mr. J. Jeppe), the Consul-General for Belgium and Madame van Schendel, General and Mrs. J. J. Byron, Captain and Mrs. Maurice Green, Colonel and Mrs. Strickland, Major-General A. J. Brink, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. M. Volgt, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Skillicorn, the Consul for Brazil and Madame Simersen, Lady Maasdorp, Sir Carnruthers Beattie, the Consul-General for the Argentine and Madame de Lemoine, the Consul for Japan and Mrs. Fujimura, Major G. M. Upton, the Consul for Estonia and Mrs. Mueller, Mr. Jan Majewski, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Wilson, the Vice-Consul for France and Madame Batezat, the Vice-Consul for Brazil and Madame Hehl, the Consul for Finland (Mr. G. Dahl), the Consul-General for Rumania and Mrs. S. M. Wale, Professor and Mrs. Eric Walker, the Town Clerk and Mrs. Mervyn Willoms, the Consul for Mexico and Mrs. G. W. Lyon, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Hartley, the Vice-Consul for Portugal.

APPLICATIONS IN JOHNSON CASE

The Johnson case came before the Supreme Court again yesterday when Mr. Mars, K.C., appearing with Mr. Hockley, appeared on behalf of Mr. Charles Ocean Johnson the making final of the temporary interdict on 241,000 shares in the firm of Irvin and Johnson.

Mrs. Christina Johnson, represented by Mr. Shacknovis, asked for an order for leave to sue the Guernsey Company, by judicial citation, for an order declaring that all the shares held by them in Irvin and Johnson were the property of the joint estate.

This was objected to and judgment was reserved.

EARTH TREMORS ON THE RAND

JOHANNESBURG, Tuesday

There has been an unusual number of earth tremors lately. There were four shocks in rapid succession yesterday and others followed until to-day, altogether 21 shocks were recorded in 21 hours.

A tremor in the Garmisteen area resulted in rock falls involving the death of four natives in the Wit Deep mine, and the death of one native and injuries to eight others in the Goldenjuts Deep.

At the Simmer and Jack mine work was stopped at about 30 stops on account of dangerous movement of rock.—Reuter.

196

Secretary.

Ballenke proposes
to circulate this telegram
to the permanent heads
of Dept's interested (Van-
W. Fisher, Bullock etc)
and wants to know if
you will allow him to
circulate with it para
16 (not 17) of your letter
to the P.M. (attached).

hB.

2/3/

No objection.

m. p. a. Hawkey

21. III. 35

197

PARAPHRASE TELEGRAM from the High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa for H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Dated 20th March.

Received, 12.25 p.m., 20th March, 1935.

MOST SECRET. No.45.

Department should decypher. Your telegram 18th March No.27. I agree that final settlement of the Air Mail question unlikely without Ministerial intervention whatever may be the programme made by Bullock in clearing the ground. I also agree with last sentence of paragraph 2 of your telegram. As Pirow, however, very much has his eye on his position here, rather than go to London himself he might press original plan for visit by Lord Londonderry.

Value of establishing close touch with Pirow is undeniable but, as regards other and wider aspects of suggested invitation to London, I am bound to call attention to Smuts' remarks to Hankey recorded in paragraph 16 of latter's letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald dated 7th September last. While personal motives may have contributed to inspire that caveat it may be regarded as almost certain that German Minister would leave no stone unturned if Pirow visited Europe to arrange that he also revisited Germany. Understand that Pirow after Monetary and Economic Conference was received by Hitler and was feted and flattered both by Government and by commercial interests e.g. Junkers. When his desire to disarm nationalist criticism of a visit confined to London as well as his German tendencies are borne in mind ^{no} assurance can be felt that a repetition of this performance would not take place.

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Stanley has reported in detail to the Dominions Office.

3. Before seeing General Hertzog, therefore, I had carefully weighed every sentence of my proposed presentation, and I received some valuable hints from Sir Herbert Stanley of which I made full use.

4. After the usual preliminaries I told General Hertzog that I had been instructed to give him information about the inquiry into our defensive position which, as he was aware, had been in progress for some months. I had not been sent here on a mission, but the Cabinet had thought fit to take advantage of my purely private visit to acquaint the Prime Minister of the Union with their trend of thought and with the decisions already taken on these matters. My statement must be considered as on the same footing as the most secret telegram or C.I.D. memoranda which reached him from the Prime Minister or Secretary of State. I then went on to say frankly that I realized the importance and difficulty in a verbal summary of conveying precisely the right emphasis in describing the Cabinet's policy. That policy remained exactly what it had always been and was directed above all

3.

to the maintenance of peace throughout the world, support to the League of Nations, Disarmament or at least Limitations of Armaments, and avoidance of new military commitments. I begged General Hertzog to keep constantly in mind, particularly when I came to the more technical parts of my statement, that the Government's armaments policy was carefully attuned to the general policy I had described.

5. After recalling ^{the} events which had led up to the Cabinet's inquiry I proceeded along the lines of the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Disarmament (C.P.205(34) and I was particularly careful in introducing each section to describe the efforts made or contemplated in order to minimize the risk of war, whether in the Far East or in Europe. General Smuts, whom I had met privately, had warned me that General Hertzog was rather inclined to under-rate the German menace, and Sir Herbert Stanley had told me that the General's general attitude inclined to Germany rather than to France. I therefore introduced the European section of my statement by recalling the long succession of unpleasant events in Germany that have punctuated

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punctuated the interval since Hitler came to power and have aroused so much anxiety on the Continent of Europe. I followed this by a fairly full summary of the evidence of Germany's intentions to rearm, avoiding exaggeration in either case.

6. General Hertzog listened intently while I spoke for over an hour and rarely interrupted. Once, while I was describing the danger to London from air attack from Belgian territory and the necessity which might conceivably arise for military action in support of Belgian integrity, I read trouble in his eyes. But I reassured him by reminding him that I was not talking of any immediate danger; that no new commitment was contemplated; that it was not a question of whether we should intervene, but of whether we should be capable of intervention in order to secure the safety of our own capital; that it was not a question of creating an army for these purposes, but of whether, having an army, it should be capable of use in an emergency of this kind if our national safety should require it, and, in conjunction with the Navy and Air Force, of acting as a deterrent to

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a breach of the peace by an aggressive nation. I reminded him also of my introductory statement as to the peaceful aims of our foreign policy.

7. After explaining the decisions of the Cabinet, and the position as regards naval construction and naval deficiencies I ended by dwelling on the tentative and provisional character of the decisions and the intention to keep them under constant review.

8. General Hertzog then rose from his seat and said that he was most grateful to the Cabinet for giving him this information. He had listened carefully to every point and was glad to find that the general conclusions that he himself had been forming were confirmed by what I had said. He realised that in the circumstances of the day our Government could not do otherwise than they were doing. Even the South African Government, which was much further than we are from the danger zone, was taking -

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taking steps to reorganise its defence forces and defences (on which a separate Report will be forwarded in due course). He several times repeated his acquiescence in the policy I had sketched out, and he did not say a single word of criticism of that policy during the two hours of our conversation.

our -

7.

our present trouble, and he had a general impression that, on occasions, we might have taken a stiffer line towards France.

10. I then asked if General Hertzog had any particular instance in his mind, and, after a short pause, he admitted that he could not recall one. I then referred to the long story of the concessions that had been made to Germany from the Treaty of Versailles and the favourable offers that had been made to her in connection with disarmament. From first to last it had always been the Government of the United Kingdom that had taken the initiative. But it had always been necessary to bring France along. The Prime Minister and Sir John Simon and their predecessors had tried to secure as much for Germany as France could be induced to concede. In that task it was useless, as experience showed, to try and bully France. The only result would be to render them, and their satellites, completely unforthcoming. As a matter of fact France had come a very long way in our direction since the days of
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200

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the Poincaré régime, and, though internal politics, economic conditions and perhaps fear played their part, this was due in no small degree to the conduct of British foreign policy.

11. The General did not argue the matter further, but I think I made some impression on him. His general attitude towards our policy was so friendly and uncritical that I don't think this particular criticism need be taken too seriously. It was more a ^{general} ~~general~~ chiding than a criticism.

12. General Hertzog then went on to ask whether the increase in the German forces might not be for the purpose of enabling Hitler to maintain order in a country faced with dire distress when social and economic difficulties are liable at any time to cause breaches of the peace. I replied that Hitler still has his S.S. and S.A. forces, which, even after the reductions now contemplated have been carried out will be more than sufficient for the maintenance of order. I thought the German army and air force expansion could be required only for defence, for offence, or as a support to foreign policy.

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13. The General concluded the discussion by saying that he earnestly hoped that the United Kingdom would never allow itself to be drawn into a war in Europe unless this was absolutely essential to its own security. His view had been that in 1914 we entered the war before this point had been reached. I interpolated that there was more than one side to this latter view, but neither of us wished to discuss it. He continued to the effect that, in the interests of cooperation in the Commonwealth, it was not desirable that we should get involved on the continent, but he realised that circumstances could conceivably arise in which for our own vital defensive interests we might have to act and on a long view he realised that the Government could not afford to neglect its responsibility. He himself did not believe that the contingency in question was likely to arise for a long time to come, though he recognised that the Government could not assume this in so vital a matter. I do not pretend that these were General Hertzog's actual words. He is apt to use rather vague language and I can only give a very general impression of what he said. But he made it perfectly clear, by frequent

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repetition, that he is in complete sympathy with the Cabinet's defence policy.

14. In the afternoon, with General Hertzog's permission I repeated my statement to General Smuts on his farm at Irene.

15. General Smuts was quite emphatic in his approval of and satisfaction with the policy. He thought that disarmament was dead for the present, but this did not in the least discourage him about the maintenance of peace. He was very much opposed to unilateral disarmament as an example and had been taken to task by Gilbert Murray and others for his attitude. They said he had "let them down" but he had adhered firmly to his attitude.

16. General Smuts evinced much more interest than General Hertzog had done in the Far Eastern question. He was disturbed at the attitude of Japan and said that there were signs of Japan wanting to establish a footing in Mozambique and Abyssinia. If Singapore went, South Africa would come into the front line. He quite understood the reasons for postponing a decision on the long

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II.

range naval construction and naval deficiency programmes, but hoped that the strength of the Navy would be maintained, as this is the shield of the whole Empire, including South Africa.

16. As a matter of interest I may mention that, speaking in great confidence, General Smuts advised me not to say much to Mr Pirow about the general situation, as he was not quite sure how closely Mr Pirow may be in touch with the German Minister here. It is unlikely, however, that I shall see Mr. Pirow, who is at Lourenco Marques in connection with the Portuguese Conference and will probably not return in time.

17. General Smuts will be in London early in October and you will have an opportunity to correct me, if you think I have given any incorrect impression of the Government's policy.

18. I have done my best, in the very short time available in a crowded visit, to give some account of

these -

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209

12.

these long conversations, occupying five hours in one day in the aggregate. I had to rise at 6 a.m. to write this letter!

I am reporting certain other points that cross to the Dominions Office,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) M. P. A. Haubey

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Major Johnson 210
Capt. R. H. R. END

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SECRET.

J.D.C. 249.

COPY NO. 5

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

JOINT OVERSEA AND HOME DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

SOUTH AFRICAN COAST DEFENCES.

(Reference J.D.C. Paper No. 244).

Note by the Joint Secretary.

In view of the forthcoming visit of Mr. Pirow, it has been suggested that a revised Memorandum on South African Coast Defences, based on J.D.C. Paper No. 244, should be prepared with a view to its being laid before Mr. Pirow on his arrival.

2. The attached draft has been prepared with that end in view. It follows as closely as seems possible the text of J.D.C. Paper No. 244.

3. Members are requested to inform the Secretary whether they agree to this proposed draft, or of any suggested amendments, not later than Friday next, 22nd May.

(Signed) H.R. FOWNALL.

Joint Secretary,
Joint Oversea and Home Defence Committee.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.,
19th May, 1936.

*Concurs in draft - with slight
amendment on page 22.*

L. S. J. P. R.
for D. S. J.
20.5.36

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